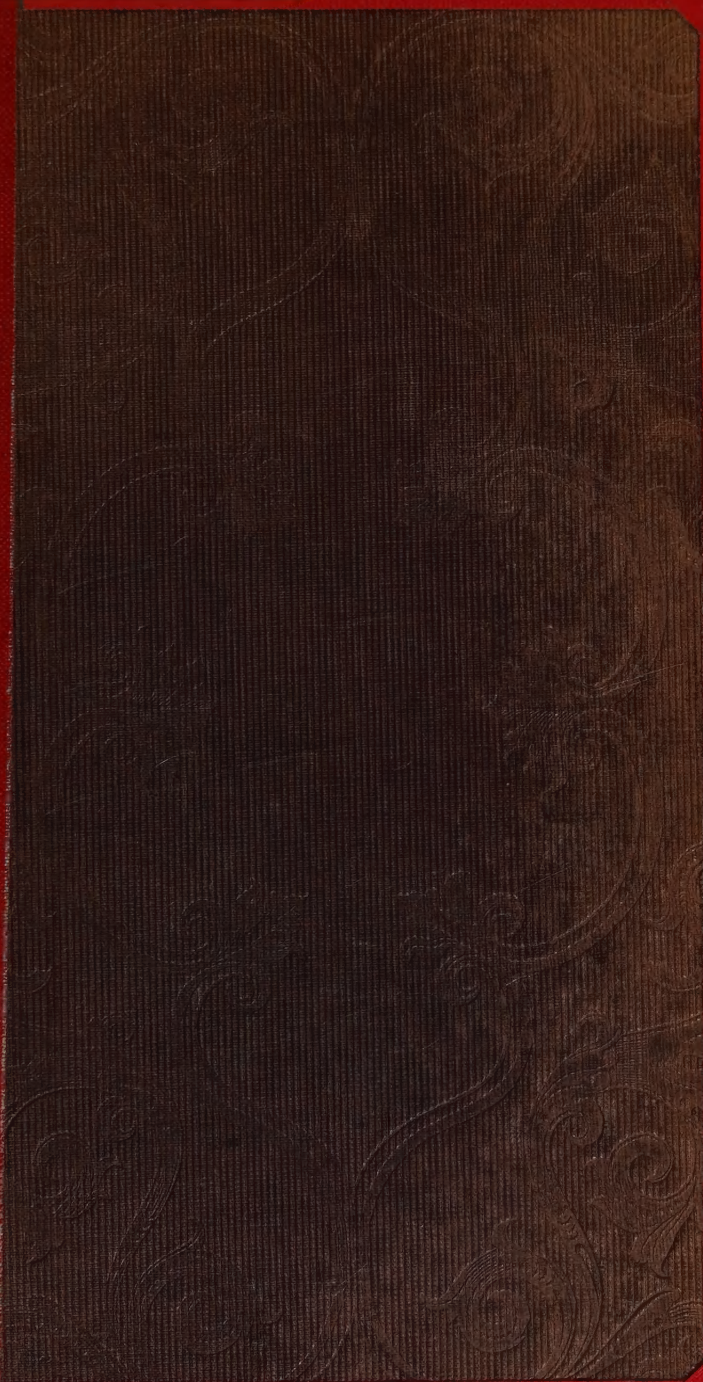


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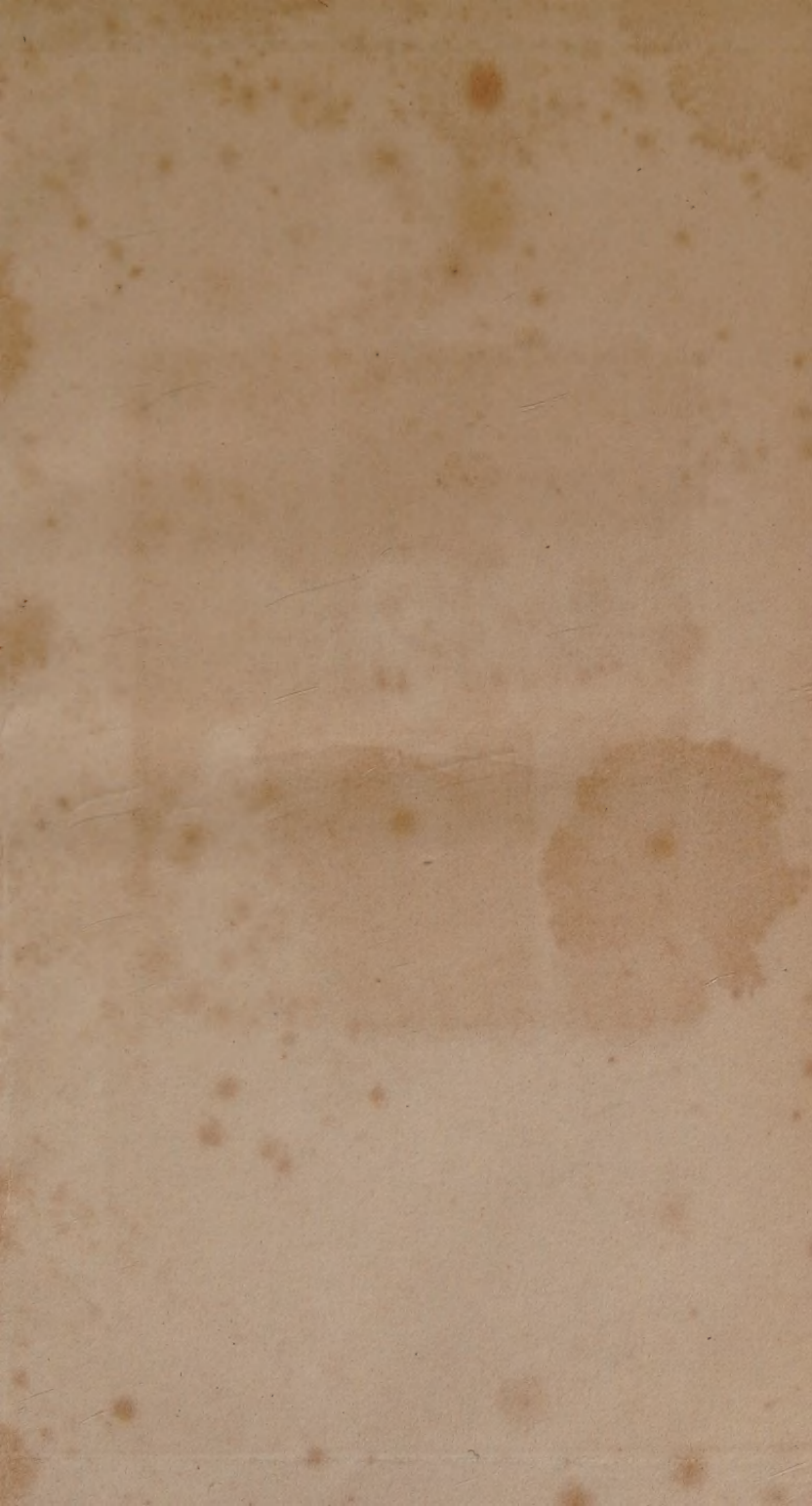
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Scirem Engraver to His Majesty

*The Right Rev.^d John Towell D.D.
Lord Bishop of Salisbury.*

OBITU

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Jewell, John, Bp of Salisbury

AN

Apology

FOR THE

Church of England,

Apologia ecclesiae anglicanae
BY

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN JEWELL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY:

FAITHFULLY TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL LATIN, AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH COPIOUS NOTES,

BY

THE REVEREND STEPHEN ISAACSON, B. A.

OF CHRIST COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE:

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED

A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND A PRELIMINARY
DISCOURSE ON THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE
CHURCH OF ROME; IN REPLY TO SOME OBSERVA-
TIONS OF CHARLES BUTLER, ESQ. ADDRESSED
TO DR. SOUTHEY, ON HIS BOOK OF
THE CHURCH.

"FOR I AM NOT ASHAMED OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST; FOR IT IS THE POWER OF GOD
UNTO SALVATION TO EVERY ONE THAT BELIEVETH." Rom. i. 16.

London:

JOHN HEARNE, 81, STRAND.

1825.

Apology

Church of England

THE RIGHT REV. JOHN ARTHUR D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF EXETER

WITHIN THE REIGN OF THE LATE KING WILLIAM IV. AND
THE REIGN OF THE LATE QUEEN VICTORIA

THE BISHOP OF EXETER

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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London:

JOHN HARRIS & SONS

1852

TO
THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON, THE PRESIDENT;
TO
THE VICE PRESIDENTS,
AND
THE GOVERNORS
OF THE
INCORPORATED SOCIETY
FOR THE CONVERSION AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION,
AND EDUCATION OF THE NEGROE SLAVES
IN THE
BRITISH WEST INDIA ISLANDS;
THIS TRANSLATION
OF THE
APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,
BY
BISHOP JEWELL,
THE ABLE DEFENDER OF THOSE TRUTHS
TO THE PROPAGATION OF WHICH
THEIR PIOUS AND CHARITABLE LABOURS
ARE,
UNDER DIVINE PROVIDENCE,
ZEALOUSLY DEVOTED,
IS,
(BY PERMISSION)
DEDICATED WITH ALL DUE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE,
BY THEIR
FAITHFUL SERVANT AND CHAPLAIN,
STEPHEN ISAACSON.

London,
29th Jan. 1825,

PREFACE.

AT a period when the endeavours of the members of the Church of Rome to acquire political Influence in our Country are every day assuming a more formidable appearance; when their pretensions are urged with such unrestrained violence; and the means taken to enforce them are in the highest degree reprehensible; no work could be submitted to the Protestant part of the Community, better calculated to expose their unsound and fallacious doctrines, and to guard the Church against the insidious but determined attacks of her implacable Enemies than the Apology of the illustrious Bishop Jewell,

“ which was composed and written by this Reverend Father, as the Public Confession of the Catholic and Christian Faith of all Englishmen. Wherein is taught our consent with the German, Helvetian, French, Scotch, Genevian, and other Reformed Churches. The cause is shown of our departure from the Roman See, and answer is given to those slanderers, who complained that the English came not to the pretended Council of Trent called by the Pope, nor sent any Legate thither, nor excused their absence by any letters or Messengers. The Reason of writing this Apology was, that Papists might see all the Parts and Foundations of the Doctrine we defended; and might understand the strength of the Arguments, on which our Religion stands*.”

* Strype's Annals, vol. i. p. 427. Ed. 1824.

Wherein a complete Refutation is also given to the assertions of the Popish Doctors, “ that the Bishop of Rome, whensoever it shall like him to determine in judgment, can never err: that he is always undoubtedly possessed of God’s Holy Spirit: that at his only hand we must learn to know the will of God; and in his *Holiness* stands the Unity and Safety of the Church: that whosoever is divided from him must be an Heretic: that without obedience to him there is no hope of Salvation: that he is not only a Bishop, but a King; and finally, that all Kings and Emperors receive all their power at *his* hand; and ought to swear fealty and obedience unto *him* * ! ! ”

The great change which has taken place in the Structure of our Language since the earlier Translations of this Work were made,

* Strype’s Annals, vol. 1, p. 426. Ed. 1824.

and the many and glaring errors too often visible in later ones, wherein whole sentences are not unfrequently omitted, and the sense in a variety of instances perverted *, appear to the Translator a sufficient Justification for offering the present Edition to the notice of the Public.

In every instance where the subject appeared to require it, the work has been enriched with notes selected from the most celebrated and esteemed writers, whether Popish or Catholic ; and every position assumed by the learned Prelate has been confirmed and strengthened by the citation of parallel passages from the most distinguished Fathers and Doctors of the Church.

With respect to the Preliminary discourse,

* We particularly allude to the Translation by Mr. Campbell, published by Rivington in 1813, which certainly bears but slight Resemblance to the Work of Bishop Jewell.

the Translator must here beg leave to observe, that his work was nearly ready for Publication before Mr. Butler's "Book of the Roman Catholic Church," came into his hands; and that the few observations here made are not therefore meant as a complete answer to that Gentleman's publication, but merely intended to show that the sources from which he has drawn his information have not in all instances been the most authentic; and to prove to the world that the Doctrine and Discipline at present maintained by the advocates of the Church of Rome do not differ so widely from those of their predecessors as they would fain make us believe.

It was the intention of the Translator in the first Instance to have merely reprinted the Life of Bishop Jewell prefixed to the English Edition of the Apology published in

1685 : but in the course of his researches so many new anecdotes were discovered, that he thought it desirable to enlarge this Biographical Sketch ; adhering at the same time as closely as possible to the styles of the various Authors from whom any information has been extracted. In addition to this, an authentic list of the writings of this eminent Divine has been subjoined, together with a selection of Testimonies of his Piety and Learning, (especially as regards the work before us,) made from the most celebrated authors both contemporary and succeeding : and to render the publication still more interesting, and at one view to place before the reader the sources from whence all the Information respecting Bishop Jewell and his writings has been drawn, a list of the authors consulted has been annexed.

- Humfredi Vita Juelli, 4to. Lond. 1573.
Holland's Heroologia, fol. Lond. 1620.
Godwin Annales de Præsulibus, fol. Cant. 1743.
Biographia Britannica, fol. 1747.
Life prefixed to his Works by T. Fuller, fol. 1609.
Life prefixed to his Works by D. Featly, fol. 1611.
Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, 4to. 1813.
Life prefixed to Translation of the Apology, 8vo. 1685.
Fuller's Abel Redivivus, 4to. 1651.
Lupton's History of the Modern Protestant Divines, 12mo.
1637.
Harrington's briefe view of the State of the Church of Eng-
land, 12mo. 1653.
Fuller's Worthies of Devon, fol. Camb. 1647.
Prince's Ditto, fol. 1701.
Life prefixed to Campbell's Translation of the Apology, 8vo
1813.
Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, 8vo. 1823.
————— Archbishop Whitgift, fol. 1717.
————— Annals of the Reformation, fol. 1735.
Camden's Annals of Queen Elizabeth, fol. Lond. 1615.
Heylin's Ecclesia Restaurata, fol. 1661.
Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, 8vo. Romæ. 1586.
Lloyd's State Worthies, 8vo. 1684.
Fuller's Church History, fol. 1656.
Walton's Life of Hooker, 8vo. 1807.

- Churton's Life of Nowell, Oxford, 8vo. 1809.
Gilpin's Life of Cranmer, 8vo. 1784.
Burnett's Reformation, fol. 1715.
Whitgift's Defense, fol. 1574.
Tanner's Bibliotheca, fol. Lond. 1748.
Ballard's Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain, 8vo.
1755.
History of the Reformation in Scotland, fol. Lond. 1644.
Nowell's Reproufe of Dorman, 4to. 1566.
Archbishop Laud's Conference with Fisher the Jesuit, fol.
1686.
Fuller's Worthies of England, fol. 1662.
Burnett's Exposition of the Thirty-Nine Articles, 8vo.
Lond. 1819.
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PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

THE complete Exposition of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestant Established Church contained in the Apology of Bishop Jewell, offers such a full and perfect Reply to the Work of Mr. Butler, that any further attempt to throw light on the subject of those differences which have existed, and ever must exist, between Protestantism and Popery, may in the first instance appear a work of supererogation. But when we find this incontrovertible work has existed for so many ages, and that although in our Country the Superstitions of Popery have manifestly decayed; still the exertions and attacks of individuals have by no means relaxed: when we perceive that at this very hour the Romish Church is endeavouring, to aid their

cause, not by Arguments founded on Justice and Reason, but by the secular means of Pecuniary Resources: when this is the case, a few farther observations cannot be considered in any respect irrelevant.

The Popish Writers, who have most violently exclaimed against the injustice of Protestants in attributing to Papists that profession of Faith which in reality they do not hold, have invariably appealed to the Proceedings of the Council of Trent, and the Articles of Belief there laid down by Pope Pius IV. as the Standard of their Faith. We shall therefore in the present instance offer to our Readers a few Remarks on that celebrated Creed: a Copy of which is here inserted from Mr. Butler's Book of the Roman Catholic Church.

“ I believe in one God, the Father Almighty,
“ Maker of Heaven and Earth, and of all things
“ visible and invisible; and in one Lord Jesus
“ Christ, the only begotten Son of God; Light
“ of Light; true God of true God; begotten,
“ not made; consubstantial to the Father, by
“ whom all things were made; who for us men
“ and for our Salvation, came down from Heaven,

“ and was incarnate by the Holy Ghost, of the
“ Virgin Mary, and was made Man; was cru-
“ cified also for us, under Pontius Pilate, suffered
“ and was buried, and rose again the third day;
“ according to the Scriptures, and ascended into
“ Heaven; sits at the right hand of the Father,
“ and will come again with glory to judge the
“ living and the dead, of whose kingdom there
“ will be no end: and in the Holy Ghost, the
“ Lord and Life Giver, who proceeds from the
“ Father and the Son; who, together with the
“ Father and the Son, is adored and glorified;
“ who spoke by the Prophets; and one Holy
“ Catholic and Apostolic Church. I confess
“ one Baptism for the Remission of Sins; and
“ I expect the Resurrection of the Body, and
“ the Life of the World to come. Amen.

“ I most firmly admit and embrace Apostolical
“ and Ecclesiastical Traditions, and all other
“ Constitutions and Observances of the same
“ Church.

“ I also admit the Sacred Scriptures, accord-
“ ing to the sense which the Holy Mother
“ Church has held, and does hold, to whom it

“ belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; nor will I ever take or interpret them otherwise than according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

“ I profess also, that there are truly and properly Seven Sacraments of the New Law, instituted by Jesus Christ our Lord, and for the Salvation of Mankind, though all are not necessary for every one; viz. Baptism, Confirmation, Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony, and that they confer Grace; and of these, Baptism, Confirmation and Order cannot be reiterated without Sacrilege.

“ I also receive and admit the Ceremonies of the Catholic Church, received and approved in the Solemn Administration of all the above said Sacraments.

“ I receive and embrace all and every one of the things which have been defined and declared in the Holy Council of Trent, concerning Original Sin and Justification.

“ I profess likewise, that in the Mass is offered
“ to God a true, proper and propitiatory Sacri-
“ fice for the living and the dead; and that in
“ the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Eucharist
“ there is *truly, really, and substantially* the Body
“ and Blood, together with the Soul and Divi-
“ nity of our Lord Jesus Christ; and that there
“ is made a *Conversion* of the whole Substance
“ of the Bread into the Body, and of the whole
“ substance of the Wine into the Blood, which
“ *Conversion* the Catholic Church calls Transub-
“ stantiation.

“ I confess also, that under either kind alone,
“ whole and entire, Christ and a true Sacrament
“ is received.

“ I constantly hold that there is a Purgatory,
“ and that the Souls detained therein are helped
“ by the Suffrages of the Faithful.

“ Likewise, that the Saints reigning together
“ with Christ, are to be honoured and invoked,
“ that they offer prayers to God for us, and that
“ their Relics are to be venerated.

“ I most firmly assert, that the Images of
“ Christ, and of the Mother of God ever Virgin,
“ and also of the other Saints, are to be had and
“ retained; and that due Honor and Veneration
“ are to be given them.

“ I also affirm, that the Power of Indulgences
“ was left by Christ in the Church, and that the
“ use of them is most Wholesome to Christian
“ People.

“ I acknowledge the Holy Catholic and Apos-
“ tolic Roman Church, the Mother and Mistress
“ of all Churches; and I promise and swear true
“ obedience to the Roman Bishop, the Successor
“ of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and
“ Vicar of Jesus Christ.

“ I also profess and undoubtedly receive all
“ other things delivered, defined and declared
“ by the Sacred Canons and General Councils,
“ and particularly by the Holy Council of Trent;
“ and likewise I also condemn, reject and ana-
“ thematize all things contrary thereto, and all
“ Heresies whatsoever condemned and anathe-
“ matized by the Church.

“ This true Catholic Faith, out of which none
“ can be saved, which I now freely profess and
“ truly hold, I, *N.* promise, vow and swear
“ most constantly to hold and profess the same
“ whole and entire, with God’s Assistance, to the
“ End of my Life.

“ [And that I will take care, as far as in me
“ lies, that the same be holden, kept, and
“ preached by all who are subject to my
“ control, or who are connected with my
“ charge.

“ So help me God, and these the Holy Gos-
“ pels of God.]” *

The Framers and Projectors of these New Articles of Belief evidently feared that a simple profession would not be sufficient to bind the consciences of Men to their strict observance; and therefore Pope Pius contrived a formal Oath, “ *forma juramenti*,” as the Bull issued on this occasion designates it, which all men were obliged unreservedly to take to secure

* This latter parenthesis is omitted in Mr. Butler’s Work.

themselves from Persecution. We are aware that some portions of this Roman Creed had in a former instance been pressed upon the Western World by the terrors of the Inquisition, Fire and Sword; and that many of them, for the space of five or six hundred years, had by these unjustifiable means been established: but till this Council of Trent, neither the Pope nor his most servile flatterers ever had the audacity to assert that this Creed, imposed by an Oath, was absolutely necessary to the Salvation of Mankind.

Nay, even in the third Session of this Council under * Paul III. we find that the Nicene (or Roman† Creed as the Papists call it) alone was insisted upon; and for upwards of a century afterwards, in their Public Worship, and the administration of the Sacrament of Baptism, (as if conscious of the Novelty of the Tridentine Faith,) they only made use of the three Catholic Creeds; the new one up to that period not being in one single instance mentioned; but merely reserved for the persecution of Protestants, and hung up

* Anno Dom. 1546.

† Symbolum quo Sancta Ecclesia Romana utitur Sessio iii.

as it were *in terrorem* to all the Enemies and Opposers of Popish Influence and Superstition.

It is peculiarly worthy our attention, that throughout these New Articles the Exaltation and Grandeur of the Romish Church is alone consulted. In them the uncontrollable dominion of the Pope over the consciences of men is maintained; his authority over all persons and in all cases, is extended and asserted; and by the doctrine of Absolution, which they hold, and the sale of Indulgences, which they promote, they at once increase the Public Revenue, and add to the Private Emoluments of the inferior Clergy. In them we find nothing that exalts or glorifies any of the Attributes of God; nothing to magnify or elucidate the Mysteries of the Redemption; nothing that can either increase our Love towards our Creator, or engage us to serve Him better; nothing to quiet the fears, or raise the hopes of Christians when their thoughts are employed in the Contemplation of Eternity, and the salvation of their Immortal Souls. Their sole object indeed appears to be the Establishment of the usurped dominion of the Pope: and as it were

the canonization of those means by which his Cardinals and Prelates acquire their inordinate Wealth; and are enabled to rival even Monarchs in the State and Splendour of their domestic Establishments.

Instead of explaining to the people the Miracles of our Saviour, the wonderful Love of our heavenly Father in sacrificing his only Son for our sakes, and the eternal Salvation promised to the whole world through Faith in his merits; the tricks of pretended saints, of which even many of their narrators are themselves ashamed—the merciful benignity of his Paternal *Holiness*, the Vicar of Christ upon earth, and the great blessings which cannot fail to accrue to all believers in the Pope's infallibility, are universally upheld and blazoned throughout the world as far superior to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles.

To countenance and protect these new devices which are neither Primitive nor universally received; neither contained in Scripture nor the Ancient Creeds; they have crowded their Bre-

viaries with wondrous tales of fabled Miracles and suppositious Saints, which are in general so ill contrived, so absurd, so obscene, so ill attested, so utterly unworthy of attention, that far from advancing the interest of our opponents, they serve rather as proofs of the instability and badness of that cause which they are brought forward to maintain; and must convince, even the most casual observer, that Reason and Religion can have no connection with a party who are compelled to have recourse to such puerile tricks to maintain even a shadow of authority over ignorance and superstition,

This Creed has in truth placed an impassable barrier betwixt Popery and the Reformation, and has for ever separated the Roman from all other Christian Churches. For by the decision of the Council of Trent many of their *errors* have become *Articles of Faith*, and been declared necessary to Salvation: and every one who ventures to express a doubt respecting the Doctrines or Discipline of the Roman See is * stig-

* Dubius in fide censetur Hereticus.

History of the Council of Trent.

matized as an heretic. “ You may not,” says the learned author of the Holy Inquisition, “ question, nor so much as hesitate about any point in the *New Articles* ; neither may you interpret them, or seek to give them a commodious sense, as certain Bishops have endeavoured to do, to make them plausible : the whole Creed and Oath must go down in the Pope’s sense that imposed it, be it what it will. So that except a man truly and thoroughly believe all this, he cannot with any conscience comply with the Church of *Rome*, or remain in its Communion. And all the gilded words and promises of the Popish Clergy to those they would seduce about tolerating different opinions, and leaving them to themselves ; are (as appears by this Bull and Creed) but pious Frauds, and downright Lies.” *

The Papists have declared that salvation absolutely depends upon an implicit belief in certain doctrines, which God has nowhere revealed ; which in many respects are directly contrary to his Word, and the True Catholic Faith of all Christians. How different the conduct of our Reformers of the Church of England. They have

* “ The Holy Inquisition.” Lond. 1681.

not proclaimed any thing as necessary to salvation, but that which our Saviour himself hath declared ; they have imposed no doubtful or controverted doctrines on the people ; have taught nothing but that which all true Christians have professed in every Age and Nation ; and in a word have given Provocation to no men to withdraw themselves from the Protestant Communion, but to such as implicitly believe the Creed of Pius IV. which Mr. Butler acknowledges to be the standard of the Popish Faith.

And who that believes Jesus Christ to be that Great Prophet by whom the whole Counsel of God was revealed, and who is alone to be heard as the author and finisher of our Faith, can swear unqualified obedience to the Pope, and embrace in his creed all the vain Traditions of the Church of Rome, (which they themselves cannot number) and receive, as of equal authority with the Gospel, all the Declarations and Decrees of her Councils, especially that of Trent, and, believe her to be the Mother of all Churches ?

Who that believes, that—“ *if any man shall add*

*unto these things, God shall add unto him the plagues that are written in this Book ; and if any man shall take away from the words of the Book of this Prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the Book of Life, and out of the Holy City, and from the things which are written in this Book :”** who that believes this, can for a moment consider, that Christ is *truly* sacrificed in the *Mass* for the Living and the Dead ; that he is *wholly* contained under either species in the Sacrament ; that there is a Purgatory, and the Souls detained therein are helped by the suffrages of the faithful ; that the *Saints*, reigning together with Christ, are to be *honoured*, and *invoked* ; that *they offer up prayers* to God for us, and that their *Relics* are to be *venerated* ; that the *images* of Christ, the mother of God, and also of the other Saints are to be worshipped ; and that the power of granting Indulgences was by Christ left to this Church ?

The Doctrine of Christ we have in the Gospel† ; “ which whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in, hath not God :” and this Doctrine the Protestant Creed fully comprehends, which contains the glorious attributes of God ; his

* Revelations xxii. 18, 19.

† St. John ii. 9.

wonderful works of power and mercy; what mighty things he has done for us and our Salvation; and what we may still expect from him in a future state: and all these merely to induce us Religiously to serve and love him alone, and own him for our Supreme Lord by an Holy Worship and Obedience.

Far different are the Articles of Roman Faith. In these the unlimited power and dominion of the Pope, and his Church over the Souls and Consciences of Men is arrogantly proclaimed; and every means are authorized and sanctioned, however nefarious, by which their wealth may be increased, or the luxury of their tables supplied. For instance, the sale of Indulgences, the disposal of the Sacred Mass, their appropriation of the offerings made at their innumerable shrines and altars, and open traffic for the Redemption of Souls from Purgatory.

For refusing obedience to this New and Unchristian Doctrine our Forefathers suffered all the torments and cruelties which Papal Ingenuity could invent: For this a Hooper, a Ridley, a Latimer, a Cranmer perished in the Flames.

It is therefore no idle Caprice that has compelled us to dissent from and forswear the See of Rome; but that Obligation and Duty which we owed to our God and Saviour, whose true Religion we sincerely hope all our Protestant Brethren will constantly profess and openly acknowledge, whatever their sufferings may be in so glorious a cause.

When however this step was first resolved upon, the Church of England laid no burdens on the Consciences of Men, and exercised its authority no further than was absolutely necessary for its own preservation. It required indeed a compliance with its Rules from its members in general, and its Ministers in particular: but as no man is *compelled* to remain a Member, he may exercise his private Judgment in the Investigation of its Doctrines, and withdraw from its Communion, if he believes those Doctrines to be false. We allow therefore to *others* the privilege which we claimed for *ourselves* in withdrawing from the Church of Rome. And since they who withdraw from *us*, continue the exercise of that very authority, to which they had been previously subjected in the Church of

England, our Church stands exculpated from the Charge of Inconsistency, and a departure from the Principles of the Reformation.

But if the Church of England thus allows the right of private judgment, this right is absolutely refused by the Church of Rome. For the latter not only requires obedience from all who *continue* in its communion, but prohibits a *departure* from that communion. And this prohibition is carried so far, that the Church of Rome claims the power of exercising spiritual jurisdiction over those who have *ceased to be its members*. Allegiance to the *Church* is considered in the same light as allegiance to the State; and Apostates from the Religion of Rome are regarded as Rebels against their lawful Sovereign. The Council of Trent has formally declared that the Church of Rome is the *Mother and Mistress* of all* Churches; whence they who have deserted its standard, and have gone over to other Churches are still declared amenable to the Church of Rome. Accordingly we find in the Roman Catechism,

* Ecclesia Romana, quæ omnium Ecclesiarum, *Mater est et Magistra*, &c. p. liii. See also the Trent Confession of Faith.

published by order of Pius V. that Heretics and Schismatics, though no longer members of the Church of Rome, are still in the *power* of the Church, “as persons to be called by it to judgment, punished and doomed by Anathema to damnation.”* And this claim, thus officially made in the Roman Catechism, is urged at this very day in the Theological Lectures which are given in the College of Maynooth.†

In further considering the various articles of Popish Faith and Practice, we might safely refer to the admirable line of argument taken by Bishop Jewell in his *Apology*: but Burnett,‡ in his *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, has given such incontrovertible reasons for dissenting from the See of Rome in certain particulars, that we cannot refrain from citing his own words; “An obstinate adherence to things, only because they

* *Hæretici sero et Schismatici, qui ab Ecclesia desciverunt, &c. Non negandum tamen quin in Ecclesiæ potestate sint, ut qui ab ea in iudicium vocentur, puniantur, anathemate damnentur.* *Catechismus Romanus, p. 78. Ed. 1587.*

† Bishop Marsh's *Comparative View*, p. 179, Cambridge, 1814.

‡ Bishop Burnett on the xxxix Articles,

are ancient, when all the ends for which they were first introduced do cease, is the limiting the Church in a point in which she ought still to preserve her liberty: she ought still to pursue those great Rules in all her orders of doing all things to *edification*, with *decency* and for *peace*. The only question that can be made in this matter is, whether such general laws as have been made by greater bodies, by General Councils for instance, or by those Synods, whose Canons were received into the body of the Canons of the Catholic Church; whether these, I say, may be altered by National Churches, or whether the body of Christians is so to be reckoned one body, that all the parts of it are bound to submit, in matters indifferent, to the Decrees of the body in general? It is certain that all the parts of the Catholic Church ought to hold a Communion one with another, and mutual commerce and correspondence together: but this difference is to be observed between the Christian and the Jewish Religion, that the one was tied to one nation and to one place, whereas the Christian Religion is Universal; to be spread to all nations, among people of different climates and languages, and of different customs and tempers: and, therefore, since the power in

indifferent matters, is given the Church only in order to Edification, every nation must be the proper judge of that within itself.

“ The Roman Empire, though a great body, yet was all under one Government; and therefore all the Councils that were held while that Empire stood, are to be considered only as national Synods under one Civil Policy. The Christians of Persia, India, or Ethiopia, were not subject to the Canons made by them, but were at full liberty to make Rules and Canons for themselves. And in the primitive times we see a vast diversity in their Rules and Rituals. They were so far from imposing general Rules on all, that they left the Churches at full liberty: even the Council of Nice made very few Rules; that of Constantinople and Ephesus, made fewer; and though the abuses that were growing in the fifth century gave occasion to the Council of Chalcedon to make more Canons, yet the number of them is but small;” so that the Tyranny of subjecting particular churches to laws that might be inconvenient for them, which now forms a leading feature of Popery, was not then brought into the Church.

With respect to the numerous Sacraments of the Romish Church, the Apology contains such an able and incontrovertible exposition, that we must refer our readers to it for our opinions on that point: but there has from its infancy existed a practice in the Church of Rome, which calls for the most unqualified condemnation: we allude to the system of mutilating MSS. and expunging all those passages from the writings of the Ancient Fathers, which can be in any way interpreted to their disadvantage,

In the * printed editions of St. Isidore these words are omitted: “ Now Bread and Wine are therefore compared to the Body and Blood of Christ, because, as the substance of this visible Bread and Wine feeds and nourishes the outward man; so the Word of God, which is the Living Bread, doth refresh the Souls of the Faithful by the receiving thereof.” †

* Ratramiri liber, Geneva, A.D. 1541,

† Panis vero et Vinum ideo Corpori et Sanguini Domini comparantur, quia sunt visibilis hujus Panis Vini que substantia exteriorem nutrit et inebriat hominem, ita Verbum Dei, qui est Panis Vivus participatione sui fidelium recreat mentes.

Isidor. Orig. lib. vi. c. 19.

In a defence of the Book of Bertram, published anonymously, and dedicated to the Right Honorable Henry Coventry, one of the Privy Counsellors to King James II. the following remarkable confirmation of the facts above stated occurs, to which some reference is made in the Apology; “ Rabanus, Archbishop of Mentz, whom Baronius styles the brightest Star of Germany, in his ‘Penitentials’ makes strong allusions to Paschasius and his followers, who had entertained false sentiments touching the sacraments of the Lord’s Body and Blood; saying, “ that this very Body of our Lord, which was born of the Virgin Mary, in which our Lord suffered on the Cross, and rose again from the grave, *is the same which we receive from the Altar.*” These last words were, as Baluzius* and F. Mabillon observe, razed out of the MS. from whence Stevartius published that Epistle of Rabanus; which I take notice of, because Mr. Arnaud’s modest Monk of St. Genouefte makes so much difficulty to believe Archbishop Usher, who tells of a passage of the same importance razed out of an old MS, Book of Penitential Canons, in Bennet College Library, Cam-

* Baluzius in notis ad c. xxxiii. Ad Calcem Reginonis.

bridge, though he had seen it himself, and, no doubt, the other MS. also, out of which the lost passage was restored.

This passage is an authority of the tenth Century, confirming Bertram's * Doctrine, which I shall transcribe; " But this sacrifice is not the Body in which he suffered for us, nor his Blood which he shed for us: but it is spiritually made his Body and Blood, like the Manna rained down from Heaven, and the Water which flowed from the Rock." These words some had razed out of the Worcester book, but they are restored again out of a book of Exeter Church, as is noted in the margin, by the first publishers of this Epistle, and the Saxon Homily: they are both one Author's work, viz. " Elfric's." Thus the reader may be satisfied how the passage was recovered; and that Bishop Usher did not invent it: which, had it been lost utterly, might also have been restored out of the Saxon Epistle printed immediately before it.

And now I am speaking of such detested prac-

* At the end of the Saxon Homily, printed by J. Day.

tices, I cannot but add what, for the sake of such a passage, hath befallen St. Chrysostom's Epistle to Cæsarius. The passage runs thus: **“As before the Bread is consecrated, we call it Bread; but after the divine Grace hath consecrated it, by the Ministry of the Priest, it is freed from the name of Bread, and honoured with the name of the Lord's Body; though the nature of Bread remaineth in it, and we do not teach two Bodies, but one Body, of the Son; so, &c.”* This Epistle Peter Martyr found in the Florentine Library, and transcribed several copies of it, one of which he gave to Archbishop Cranmer. The copies of this Epistle being lost, the world was persuaded by the Papiſts that the passage was a Forgery committed by Peter Martyr. This past current for about a century; till, at last, Emericus Bigotius found it, and printed the whole Epistle

* Sicut enim antequam Sanctificetur Panis, Panem nominamus, Divina autem illud sanctificante Gratia, mediante Sacerdote liberatus est ab Appellatione Panis: dignus autem habitus est Dominici Corporis appellatione, etiam si *natura* Panis in ipso permansit, et non duo Corpora, sed unum Corpus Filii prædicamus, sic, &c.

Apud Steph. Le Moine inter Varia Sacra, Tom. 1. p. 532.

with the * Life of St. Chrysostom, and some other little things: but when it was finished, this † Epistle was taken out of the book, and not suffered to see light.

The place out of which this Epistle was expunged is visible in the Book by a break in the signature at the bottom, and the numbers at the top of the page. But at length it is published by Mr. Le Moine, among several other ancient pieces, at Leyden, 1685.

So that notwithstanding the French Monk's indignation at the learned Usher, for charging the Papists with the Razure of an old MS., it is plain that such tricks have not been unusual with them: that they are more ancient than their public Expurgatory Indices, and more mischievous; and that some of their great Doctors, at this day, make no conscience of stifling ancient testimonies against their corruptions when it lies in their power. ‡

* Palladii Vita Chrysostomi, Gr. Lat. &c. 4to. Paris, 1680. Inter paginas 235—245. In schædis Signatis, G.g. H.h.

† Vide Expostulationem trac. de re edita, 4to. London, 1682.

‡ The Defence of the Book of Bertram, 12mo. London, 1685, pp. 115—120.

Bishop Jewell,* as a farther confirmation of these facts, informs us, that in a certain edition of the Commentaries of Origen upon the Gospel of St. John the whole sixth chapter is omitted: because that learned Father has there delivered many things contrary to the opinions of the Papists concerning the Eucharist; for they choose rather to mutilate and deface this learned Doctor, than suffer any thing to appear in the world contrary to their Creed.

It may perhaps be objected that these are antiquated facts: that it is not possible for the Church of Rome to be accountable for the individual acts of all its members; and that however true these accusations may be, still, these practices have long ceased under the milder influence and more enlightened sway of modern Popery. But what will the world say, when they find the great Champion of the Romanists citing passages from works which have been thus mutilated; and extolling the piety and evangelical purity of Augustine, the Italian Monk, as if he were a worthy inheritor of the name of the celebrated and truly Catholic Bishop of Hippo.

* See Commencement of Chap. V. of the Apology.

But let Mr. Butler speak for himself. “ About twelve hundred years ago, and above nine hundred years before the introduction of Protestantism, Augustine with his companions brought the Light of Faith into this Island. They derived their commission from the great, and only acknowledged source of spiritual authority; and in their Faith and Communion they were united with every orthodox community of the Christian Universe. Their Faith,* my brethren, was the same which you and I adore at present. In their private and public characters, they were men eminent for their *virtues*, *practising* not only the *precepts*, but the *counsels* of the Gospel; *despising* all *earthly satisfactions*, and *attentive* only to their *own Salvation*, and to the *Salvation of their neighbours*. Their employments, when not engaged in the active occupation of their ministry, were *prayer*, *watching*, *penance*, and *mortification*. As for their conduct in the sacred ministry, it was such as became Apostles!! They preached and acted as did once the envoys of Jesus Christ! Fired with the love of God, and animated with *charity* to their fellow men, they joined the ar-

* Mr. Butler here cites Dr. Fletcher's Sermons, vol. 2, p. 14.

dour of zeal to the tenderness of *benevolence*. They gained proselytes, but it was by the eloquence of *truth*, assisted by the eloquence of *meekness*, *humility*, and *piety*."

After some further Encomiums on the Character of this Augustine, we are informed that eighty-two years after his arrival,* this mild, holy, and beneficent Religion which he preached was spread in every part of Anglo-Saxon England: and as an authority for these facts every "Candid Protestant" is referred to the writings of the venerable Bede. "May I not," says Mr. Butler, "confidently call upon all, who are conversant with those valuable pages, to inform me whether the Gospel inculcates a single duty, or recommends a single practice, which does not appear to have been taught and recommended by the Apostles of the Anglo-Saxons, and their Successors?"

It is not our intention in this place to offer the slightest comment on the manner in which Mr. Butler invariably alludes to the Protestant

* The Book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 27.—p. 30.

Church : but as an appeal has been to the writings of Bede, we have inserted an extract from Bishop Jewell's Defence, which not only throws considerable Light on the Character of Augustine; but also teaches us how far we may rely on the Statements contained in the writings of Papists : and as Mr. B. has expressed his regrets that Dr. Southey has not cited the authors from whom his information was derived, we have endeavoured to meet his wishes on this subject by giving the passage entire, with the authorities quoted by the learned Prelate.

“ That Augustine, the Monke of Rome, broughte firste the Faithe into this Lande, it is utterly untrue. For, as I have saide before, it appeareth plainely by Sundrie the Ancient Fathers, Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Hilary, Theodoret, Eusebius, and others, that the Faithe of Christe had benne universally received, and perfetely rooted in this Realme many hundred yeares before this Augustine the Monke was borne. Indeede he broughte in greate heapes of strange novelties and superstitions, as *Candels*, *Candelstickes*, *Banners*, and *Holy Water*, and other like *shewes* ; whereof the Church of God had no

greate neede; And yet have the same sithence benne increased by other Newe Divises, and Vanities above Measure.

“ But for as muche as certaine* Doctoures of Lovaine have lately founde themselves talke, and keapte greate Mootes in the behoufe of their Augustine, the Italian Monke, whom they cal the Apostle of Englande, and wil needes have to be received and honoured as a Saincte, I have thought it therefore good briefly and by the waie to note a few wordes touching the same.

“ It seemeth they be mutche offended, that so Virtuouse a Man, and so Holy a Saincte shoulde be charged with *Pride* and *Crueltie*. With *Pride* in so disdeignefully despisinge his Brethren, the Bishoppes of this Ilelande of Britaine; with *Crueltie*, in procuring the deathe bothe of many thousandes of Christian people, and also specially of the *Innocente and unarmed* Monkes of Bangor: and al this, for that they refused to receive him as their Metropolitane, and to agree with him in certaine smal pointes of the Romaine

* We particularly request Mr. Butler's attention to this and the subsequent paragraphs.

Religion. Howbeit, his Pride is wel blazed by BEDA, * writinge pourposely of the same, in that he sate stil in his Throne, and disdeigned to rise up, and to give any token of Reverence unto the Seven Bishoppes and other learned and grave menne of the Brittannes, makinge their appearance at his counsel. And therefore they saide they would not hearken to his demandes, nor take him for their Archebishope, as havinge otherwise of olde an Archebishope of their owne, to whome they ought their obedience. Their wordes, as they are reported by Beda, were these: “ Se modo nobis assurgi noluit, quanto magis si ei subdi cæperimus, jam nos pro nihilo contemnet?” † If even now he disdeigne to rise up unto us, howe mutche more wil hee despise us, and regarde us as nothinge, when we shal once be under his jurisdiction?”

“ But to excuse this Augustine of shameful crueltie, leste he shoulde seeme to be accessarie to the murthering of so many, and so by their owne laws to be irregulare as a man of bloude,

* Beda. Septem Britannorum Episcopi, et plures viri Doctissimi.

† Beda, lib. ii. cap. 2.

they saie ; He neitheid enkindled the warre against the Brittaines, nor was presente at the fight; but was deade longe before. Whiche thinge also they thinke maie be proved by the expresse wordes of Beda. For thus he saithe* “ Quamvis ipso Augustino jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia Regna sublato.” Notwithstandinge Augustine himselfe longe before the time of this warre, was taken up into the kingdome of Heaven. For the truthe, and certaintie hereof, it maie please thee, good Christain Reader, to understande, that these last wordes of Beda concerninge the Deathe of Augustine are manifestely forged, and have benne violently thruste into the texte by a guileful Parenthesis by them that sithence have benne ashamed of his *Crueltie*, and were never written by the Authoure, as by evidente proufes it shall plainly appeare.”

“ But first of al in an Olde Chronicle written in Frenche above twoo hundred yeeres paste,† by Thomas Graie, yee shall finde it recorded thus; “ Augustine, beinge thus refused of the Bishoppes, and others the learned of the Bri-

* Beda in eodem loco.

† Circiter 1360.

taines, made sutch complainte thereof to Ethelberte the Kinge of Kente, that foorthwith he levied his power, and marched against them, and slewe them in moste cruel wise, havinge no more regarde of Mercie, then a woulfe hath upon a sheepe." Hereby it appeareth that this Augustine was the inflamer of the Warre, and so the cause of the slaughter.

" And whereas, by the wordes of Beda, as they be now commonly extant in the Latine, we are told this Augustine was deade long before the Warre beganne; it appeareth plainely from the true Beda in deede, translated above seven hundred yeares agoe into the old English or Saxon Tongue by Alfredus, or Aluredus, then Kinge of this lande, that the same Augustine was yet alive, after the same warre was ended; and that he afterwarde consecrated twoo Bishoppes, Mellitus, and Justus: Mellitus to be Bishop of London; and Justus to be Bishop of Rochester; which thinges thus declared, it followeth orderly in the Storie. " Then, these warres being ended, and these Bishoppes consecrated, afterwarde died the beloved Father Augustine." *After* the warre he died, he saithe, and not

before as they have sithence altered in the Latine. I trow the Papistes are not so mutch amazed with the admiration of their Augustine, that they wil saie, he had power to Consecrate Bishoppes, and to use his Archiepiscopal Authoritie beinge deade.”

“ As for these wordes, that we find reported by the Parenthesis in the Latine as written by Beda, (*Quamvis Augustino Multo ante tempore ad cœlestia Regna sublato.*) For as mutche as they are quite contrarie to the very course and order of the Storie, and specially for that they are not once touched in the Aunciente Saxon Translation, sundrie copies whereof at this presente are extante and to be seene, of such reverende antiquitie, as maie not justely be called in question, therefore we have good cause to judge, that the saide wordes have benne sithence forged, and shifted in by somme good skille and policie, lest Augustine, *so holy a man*, should be founde guiltie of so greate a Crueltie.”

“ Verily in the Olde Englishe Chronicle it is recorded, not only that this Augustine, the Italian Monke, by his complainte caused the

King of Kent to arme his people against the true and faithful Christians of this Countrie, then being in Wales; or that he was alive * at the time of the battaile; but also, that he was himself presente in personne goeing towarde the same. The wordes be these; “ Augustine came againe and tolde Kinge Ethelberte that the Britaines would not obeie him. Wherefore the Kinge was wrothe, and sente to Elfrede the Kinge of Northumberland to comme to healep him to distresse the Britaines of Wales; *and Augustine the Archebishop of Canterburie mette with them at Leicester.* The Kinge of Leicester at that time was called Brocuale; he, beinge afraide of the twoo Kinges, fledde out of the lande, and came never againe. And the twoo Kinges seised al his landes and departed them bitweene themselves. And afterward thei went towardes Wales. The Britaines heard of them, and sente menne to them in their shirtes, and barefoote to aske mercie; but they were so cruel that they had of them no pitie, &c. † Hereby it appeareth that this Augustine not

* Cave's *Historia Literaria*, fol. Augustin.

† The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough, and Flores Historiarum.

only enkindled this cruel warre, but also was alive and present in the Armie.” *

Such was the actual Conduct of a man whom Mr. Butler and his friend Dr. Fletcher declare to have been actuated by *Charity* to his fellow men; and who joined the *tenderness* of *benevolence* to the ardour of Zeal: whose exertions in the cause of Religion and Mercy were blessed with the approbation of Heaven, and rewarded by God with the Gift of Miracles!!! Let us now however proceed to take a cursory view of some few particular passages wherein Mr. B. appears to have proceeded upon false premises.

In the very title Page of “the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,” we meet with an instance of that Craft with which the Popish writers have ever laboured to deceive both themselves and the world. We allude to the term Roman Catholic, which he has assumed for the name of that denomination to which he professes adherence. “The words *Poperie*, *papal* and *papist*,” he tells us, “being particularly

* The Defence of the Apologie, folio, p. 492-3. Lond. 1567.

offensive to Roman Catholics, I have altered it by substituting the word "Roman Catholic" for the word "papal." We also would add that the term Roman Catholic is particularly *offensive* to Protestants: nay, We would add, that for a Protestant to concede it as required by a Papist, is not merely inconsistent with his Protestantism, but is a base abandonment of it: is an utter renunciation of what he must deem the Religion of the Bible, which alone is the Religion of a Protestant. Not to insist upon the absurdity of joining the name of that limited tract of land, included under the title Roman, to the word Catholic or Universal, which perhaps might be at least plausibly got over; We would ask, whether, by the union of these most incongruous terms, it is not intended to claim Catholicism as the peculiar attribute of that Church which admits the Supremacy of the Pope of Rome; and to deny that any other which rejects this supremacy is a member of the true Catholic Church of Christ?

To call that Body Romanists or Papists, ought not to be considered in any other light than as designating them by the great tenet by which

they are distinguished, of the belief in the Supremacy of the Popes of Rome: just as the terms Trinitarian, Supralapsarian, or Sublapsarian, are expressive of the peculiar tenets of those who respectively bear those several denominations. But the term Catholic implies not distinction (the very meaning forbids such an assumption) but exclusion. It not merely designates a sect, but it declares that that sect alone claim to themselves the attribute of Catholicity. To call them so is to admit this claim; to admit this claim is to resign our pretensions to be members of that One Church of Christ consisting of "all the churches of the Saints," in all times, in all places, under all the varieties of outward circumstances: that Church for which alone Christ died; which is alone Catholic, and imperishable, in the solemn promise that "the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."

And why should these terms be *offensive* to them? If they are not ashamed of a belief in Papal Supremacy; if they are not ashamed of the infallibility of the church of Rome; why be so very tender upon these terms of Romanist and Papist? But the word Catholic is an im-

posing term: it enlists the most ancient prejudices on its side; they know the value of making the world believe that their Church alone possesses the qualifications of Truth and Apostolical antiquity: and however in the courtesy of common conversation even great points like this may be conceded, Mr. Southey did right, when coming to the solemn tribunal of the Public Press, not to forfeit the just claims of the Protestant Churches to be esteemed legitimate members of the true Catholic Church of Christ.

It is the same Religious Feeling, the same uncharitable spirit of exclusion, which has put into the hearts of the modern disbelievers in the Divinity of Christ to claim to themselves the title of Unitarians; and unblushingly to assert, that the great Doctrine of the Divine Unity is maintained by themselves alone. And here we would demand of the members of the Church of Rome, whether, believing as they must that this great foundation of every religious sentiment is maintained by themselves in as much primitive and Catholic simplicity as by any other sect of Christians, they would submit to the degradation of conceding a title, which

stamped upon their own Church the character of Polytheism? And why then should we be called upon to compromise our principles at the expense of our faith? To let our politeness go beyond our belief? To give up our title to the most important privileges; merely because weak men pretend to be offended at a term in which, if they are true to their opinions, they ought to glory: and crafty men wish to shelter their corruptions and designs beneath the exclusive claim of the venerable name of Catholicism?

Wherever Mr. Butler brings forward Scripture, we instantly recognise the baneful effects of the Tradition of the Church of Rome; for nothing less than the *infallible* interpretation of an *infallible* Church could ever have so completely obscured the sense, which a rational criticism would put upon it. We venture to assert that of all the perversions of criticism, that must be the most notable, which would interpret St. Peter's speech (Acts ii. 39.), and our Saviour's (John xiv. 12. 13.) (Mark. xvi. 17, 18.) in the sense of a promise for the Continuance of Miraculous Powers in the Church. To interpret also the passages produced in Letter, XI. be-

ginning of S. 2. in favour of voluntary poverty and celibacy, without even an hint of the interpretation of those texts received by Protestants upon grounds of solid criticism, looks rather like a wish to produce an impression upon the reader that there does not exist any other interpretation. Barely to cite a text of Scripture on the implied authority of Tradition may do for the ignorant part of a Popish Community; but when writing to a nation of Protestants, the courtesy of at least an attempt to justify the passage being so applied, may be expected.

But Mr. Butler's work is written in many respects throughout in this unfair manner. We particularly allude to those parts, where the doctrines and practices of the Church of Rome are treated of. Enough is said to make an impression: but that is all; and it is done in such an indirect way, that the author may question the propriety of being controverted: or if he be pressed upon a subject, shift his ground and deny the charge. Although it may be easy to discover that he is wrong, it may be difficult to track him through the indirect and circuitous paths he has chosen.

In what he has advanced upon the miraculous powers said to be exercised in the church, we question whether it would be deemed sufficiently orthodox in any *truly Catholic* Country, to bring him off without something like *inquisitorial* treatment. But it is politic in a Priesthood (situated like that of the Papists in this country) to conceal the real sentiments of the great body of their Church, by suffering the higher orders, whose opinions will be more scrutinised by coming into contact with the world, either by the press or their more extended intercourse with society, to entertain a larger faith on subjects so open to investigation as sensible miracles: and we much doubt, whether for the distinctions maintained by Mr. Butler on these subjects, he is not indebted to the light of the Reformation alone. Had that great event never taken place, would he have ever questioned the authenticity of these miracles? would he not have thought the miracles of St. Dunstan as good a proof of his actions being as approved by Heaven, of his words being as eternally obligatory, as those of the Inspired Apostles themselves?

But then* “ the period in which the miracles, attributed to Dunstan, were performed was the darkest period in the Roman Catholic history.” It is even admitted that sometimes under such a state of darkness, “ like the Northmen gifted with second-sight, they would see what they did not see; and hear what they did not hear.” And we are asked with the utmost complacency; “ do not these observations solve the whole difficulty? do they not account for the abundance of miraculous relations, in the time of which we are writing? do they not render it unnecessary, (we had almost said inexcusable,) to account for them by imputing fraud, imposture or systematical deceit, as is done by Mr. Southey to the persons concerned in them?” and we are referred in confirmation to the Existence of Vulgar Superstitions, and the miracles of John Wesley!

It is certainly easy to ask questions, of which Mr. Butler is rather too fond; but surely a subject like this ought not to have been dismissed with so much self-satisfaction. It ap-

* Mr. Butler's Work, p. 68.

pears that a Canonization is founded on evidence of the person to be canonized having exercised miraculous powers.* And can such a canonization take place? Can any new Intercessor be seated in Heaven, on other than infallible authority. If the miracles are admitted false, it is in opposition to the solemn decision of the infallible Church, and to the belief of her children, who have all along trusted in the intercession of this supposed Saint! Yet what Priest ever attempted from the pulpit to warn his flock, that *any* miracles, however extravagant, were impostures? What care or anxiety has ever been taken on the part of their Church to guard mankind against believing them?

Whilst the powers of Prince Hohenlohe are disowned by some of the English Papists, is he not publicly upheld and supported by the Priesthood? Has it ever been hinted in a Popish Congregation that they even demand a scrutiny? Instead of ransacking the Arsenal of Infidelity, and quoting Middleton to confound the miracles of the New Testament with those to which the

* Mr. B. p. 280.

Church of Rome appeals, and producing an *impression* that no difference exists between them, Mr. Butler would have done well to overthrow the strong arguments of the English Divines, and particularly of Paley, where the absolute distinction between the Scripture miracles, and those of the Church of Rome is incontrovertibly demonstrated.

To the questions so triumphantly asked on these subjects in page 39 we answer, That Christ promised no such continuance of miraculous powers to his Church; but that these Scriptures relate solely to the Apostolic age: that the Catholic Church is not exclusively that which owns the Supremacy of the Pope: and that therefore, though we have separated from the Church of Rome, we have an equal claim with that Church to be considered members of the One Catholic Church of Christ. Here Catholicism however is claimed for the Church of Rome exclusively: which is insinuated to be the only true Church, of which the Catechism of Dr. Butler authorised by the four Roman Ca-

tholic Archbishops of Ireland expressly says
“no one can be saved out of it.” *

And although the absurdity of all this has been repeatedly demonstrated, and the second “middle wall of Partition,” within the narrow limits of which they would include Universality itself, has been often triumphantly “broken down;” yet Mr. Butler writes and makes assertions on these subjects, enough to lead his uninformed readers to imagine, that no one ever even questioned these exclusive claims. Where however the artifices of Mr. Butler’s book appear is in his leading his readers to suppose that such miracles were really wrought; and yet eluding the question as to any particular miracle. He professes his belief; but in such a manner that it can yield before the scrutinizing eye of an inquisitive age and country, or be adapted to the degrees of assent, which may be safely given in an ignorant and unenlightened one. He gives up the miracles of St. Dunstan, but does not make himself answerable for any other: and thinks to claim indulgence for such gross impieties by politely

* Bishop Marsh’s Comparative View, p. 184.

appealing to our feelings about the darkness of the times which favoured, and the credulity of the people which invited such tampering with the awful truths of Christianity. Let Mr. Butler be pressed upon other narratives of this kind, and we doubt not, but the Calendar will be considerably lessened ! This concession however is of importance.

If Mr. Butler complains of the manner in which the Church of Rome has been treated, we may also justly complain of the manner in which the Church of England is treated throughout these Pages. A continued sneer upon this Establishment is kept up ; the failings and faults of the Early Supporters of our Church are paraded forth, as if the cause rested on their individual sanctity, the justice of their proceedings, and the purity of their motives ; and not on its own internal evidence of conformity to Scripture and Primitive Catholicism. If these men were persecutors, if the age in which they lived was a persecuting age, the Religion they taught is certainly not answerable for it, but the Religion in which they had been brought up. It was from that Religion that the tone of feeling and opinion

was derived to that and succeeding times. Neither is it fair to look for the opinions and practices of Protestants from the age of the Reformation: the state of society, the nature of the times, the conflicting and jarring interests which would naturally be all exerted in crushing the incipient Revolution, necessarily rendered its success a matter rather of contention and violence, than of calm discussion.

Religion was then so totally implicated with matters of state Policy, that the Reformation depended on the intrigues of Statesmen, and the will of Princes; but to suppose that these were always, or even generally conformable to the Spirit of Christianity, would be to show a total ignorance of that profligacy of manners and sentiments which prevailed in that age, and which the Reformation already found in being: and to which it only gave perhaps (like all great changes) a wider range; but is not in the least accountable for its existence. But can this same excuse be made on behalf of the Religion then established? We must remember that it was then in all its vigour and perfection; and notwithstanding the continued sneer with which

the Reformation is always treated by Mr. Butler, we have no reason to believe that the Church of Rome would ever have descended from her lofty claims and pretensions, or abated one iota of her acknowledged abuses, had it not been for the necessity of these things to which she was subjected by the Reformation; and whatever may be said about the impropriety of charging the present members of the Church of Rome with the persecuting character of the days of Queen Mary, this one reflection must be made, that whilst the Reformed Religion is without the least justice charged with the persecutions of the Reformers, those persons of that Communion by whom those terrible persecutions were carried on, lived in an age when the Church of Rome had arrived at the maturity of perfection; in that age, when the last of her Councils, (that of Trent,) gave her the present standard of her Faith, and made her what they intended she should for ever be; not contemplating that change in the sentiments of her modern members, which they so loudly assert has taken place.

The Spirit of Persecution has happily died away: but surely the Church of Rome cannot

be asserted to have wrought this great change, if we look to the state of some foreign countries. These reflections would not have been made, had not such importance been thrown over them by Mr. B.'s publication; had he not seemed to have forgotten that whilst he is responsible for the Infallibility of Bulls, and the decrees of Councils; we are responsible for the Infallibility of Scripture alone, and the propriety of that Interpretation which the Church of England, as by law established, has put upon it; had he not confounded that Church with other Protestant Churches, when he unfairly and sarcastically calls Calvin* *our own*, and spoken of and quoted Luther and other Divines (from whom we widely differ even in matters of importance) †—as if there were no difference between the Church of England, and the opinions of private individuals of other Churches.

And here it may be thought that we are placed in precisely the same situation as the Papists are by Protestants, when they are charged with the opinions and practices of former ages: but there is this great difference, that such men

* Page 126.

† Page 238.

were justified in their proceedings by the acts and decrees of the public functionaries of their Religion, as may be witnessed in the Bull of Pius V. and renewed by his Successor Sixtus Quintus,* absolving the subjects of Elizabeth from their oaths of allegiance—a Bull which draws forth no discussion of Infallibility, but only a polite extenuation from Mr. B. But that which chiefly gave rise to these remarks was the necessity imposed upon us by Mr. B.'s XII. Letter, to shew that the Church of England as now by Law established, is not chargeable with the evils occasioned by those revolutions to which she owes her origin. The Questions there propounded really must astonish an Englishman by their temerity: to him the answers of Mr. B. must be downright paradoxes.

The question, “has England gained by the Reformation in Temporal Happiness?” is answered in the negative, by drawing a comparison between her prosperity before that event, and in the subsequent and present times. The man, who can in the face of the world come to such conclusions, is only to be answered by another ques-

* Page 266.

tion; whether England does not hold a more distinguished situation since that event, than she did before it, not only over European States, but over those of the whole world? Whether, considering the present Security of Law, the Liberty of the Press, the Stability of a settled Succession to the Crown, she will suffer by a comparison with her former state, before the Reformation? Whether she will suffer, when compared with France, or Spain, or Italy, or any other country, where the Religion of the Church of Rome has never ceased to bestow her *temporal* blessings 'on the human race? Whether, beneath the prevalence of the Reformation, she has not risen to the highest summit of glory; whilst countries, professedly Papal, have sunk into insignificance amongst the States of Europe? We pity that blindness of religious prejudice, which can make an Englishman so far undervalue the blessings he now enjoys, as to mistake the base calm of submission to an absolute or worse than absolute Monarchy, for the security of Law administered by a Sovereign, who can be considered in no other light, than as the Father of his People! Where is the loyalty in such conclusions? What have we to

expect from the Patriotism of such sentiments as these?

Similar prejudices lead to similar conclusions in another question; "has England gained, by the Reformation, in Spiritual Wisdom?" The question is a fair one, but its answer consists in only unauthorized assumptions and illiberal attacks. Mr. B. demands, whether the great body of the English Clergy and Laity sincerely believe in the Doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Divinity and Atonement of Christ? On these points, it is assumed, that before the Reformation, there was a general and sincere Belief. But is this assumption true? As Protestants at least we contend that they were absorbed, lost, and rendered totally unavailing to the sublime purposes for which they were revealed, by the unauthorized additions and opinions, with which they were obscured by the Church of Rome.

As to every practical purpose, the difference on these most important Doctrines of Revelation between the Churches of England and of Rome is so great, that it is the most absurd attempt

possible, to draw a comparison: in the Church of Rome they are totally superseded, and the moral influence they ought to have, destroyed. But even allowing Mr. B's insinuation, that they were generally believed then, and are generally disbelieved now; we would ask him, whether opinions received, as they then must have been received, without the liberty of exercising the right of judgment; received, as they must have been received, without daring even to examine them, could have exercised over the hearts and minds of men, any real or salutary influence? Whether they could have supported the sinking heart in the hour of adversity, or spread religious awe and fear in the greater dangers of ease and satisfaction? Doctrines, however sublime, however intrinsically excellent, if they do not in some way or other depend upon our own free agency; if they do not appeal to our moral responsibility, produce no amelioration in our condition, cannot exalt the judgment or soften the affections. For we have the authority of Inspiration to assert, that even in those regions where moral discipline is lost, and the day of probation is for ever past, whilst they have the strongest faith in the most

sublime and mysterious proposition "that there is One God, the Devils also believe and tremble."

Whilst Mr. B. is thus assuming the preference of fettering the human judgment and crushing inquiry, to a system which permits every individual, (who alone is responsible for his use or abuse of the opportunity he enjoys) to satisfy his own conscience; and that too in a work in which so much is said about liberality of sentiment and the rights of conscience; he will do well to consider, whether one man, who is a Christian in the midst of argument and discussion, is not better than a thousand who, neither to themselves nor to others, know how to give any "reason of the hope that is in them." Although the Church of Rome has such members as these, Mr. B., in this very answer, advocates the advances she has made in "Spiritual Wisdom." Let him, also, ask himself, whether Infidelity has been confined to Protestant countries alone; and why it was so prevalent in Roman Catholic France, as to be able to overturn both the Throne and the Altar? Whether History points out no divisions in the Church of Rome, or his own book does not

positively admit that, at the present day, there are differences amongst themselves, even on the most important subjects?

But in what language shall we address him on the atrocious calumny cast upon “the great body of the present English Clergy;” a calumny upon their honesty and integrity; if, as he asserts, upon the authority of the Apostate Gibbon, they “sign the thirty-nine Articles with a sigh or a smile?” We trust there is no system prevalent amongst the Papal Priesthood, to blacken the characters of their opponents; and therefore are willing to believe that the quotation fell from Mr. B.’s pen in the ardour of his religious opinions; and content ourselves with positively denying the charge. And, although we could quote the authority of the sceptical Hume, for the small degree of assent which he asserts in Papal countries is given to Transubstantiation, and fortifies himself with two profane tales upon the subject, we will present Mr. B. with a quotation of greater authority, respecting the Priesthood of his Church.*

* Prideaux’s *Validity of the Orders of the Church of England*, p. 122. 4to. London, 1688.

“How many have been made Priests and Bishops among them, who, in the administering of the Sacraments, have never intended at all to do thereby what the Church doth; but at the same time they have performed the outward acts, have inwardly in their hearts out of malice, wickedness, or *infidelity*, totally disregarded and contemned all that is meant or intended by them. For have not many of them, *according to their own writers*, been Atheists; many of them Sorcerers and Magicians; and many of such profligate lives and conversations as can never be supposed to have intended any thing at all of Religion in any of the acts of their function, which they have performed; but being, either by the road of their education, or the desire of enriching themselves by Church Preferment got into those Holy Offices; have gone on in the common track, to do as others did for the sake of the gain; while at the same time in their minds, they scoffed at and derided the whole Ministration. And how many, even of their Popes, *according to their own Historians*, have been such; whom they make the fountains from which, under Christ, all Priestly and Ecclesiastical power is derived: and if any impartial

man will read their lives, I doubt not to say he will certainly conclude the better half of them to be of this sort."

"And to add one consideration more, how many, since the rigour of the Inquisition hath been set up in Portugal, Spain and Italy, that have been Jews in reality, have for fear of the barbarous tyranny of that Tribunal, so far dissembled their Religion, the better to cloak it from discovery, have taken upon them not only the outward profession of Christianity, but the Orders of the Church also, and have become Priests and Bishops therein; as it is well known there have been several instances of it in those countries? And can you think that any of them could, either in the giving of Orders, or Administering of Baptism, ever have any intention of doing thereby what the Church doth? No; they ever are the greatest enemies of our Religion and all the Institutions of it, and always curse and abhor them, whenever under this mask they minister in any of them."

Mr. B. ought to have considered the pictures of the Clergy of his own Church drawn by His-

tory, before he recorded any thing to vilify “ the great body of the Clergy of the Church of England :” and he ought also to have remembered that while the Scriptures were read, and the Public Service of our Church performed in a language which is understood by the People, it must be their own fault if men remain in ignorance of all that is necessary to Salvation : and whilst such a state of things has been brought about by the Reformation, England has certainly benefited in “ Spiritual Wisdom” by that event, notwithstanding the untenable sophistry of the enemies of the rights of conscience and private judgment.

A question “ Was the Reformation attended by a General Improvement in Morals ?” is the most unfortunate for his cause which Mr. B. could possibly have asked. Although he fortifies his position with some absurd and hyperbolic quotations from different divines, chiefly foreign, whom he absurdly and with injustice calls *the Patriarchs of our Church* ; we appeal to a comparison of the present morality of the English Nation, with that total absence of principle, that abandonment to voluptuousness and

sensuality, that disregard even to the outward forms of law, both human and divine, and, above all, with that spirit of uncharitableness evinced in the fiery persecutions, from which no party seems to have been free, and which no one can deny was prevalent in every country at the time of the Reformation. We appeal to the manners, laws, customs and institutions of foreign nations, and particularly those where obedience to the Church of Rome is unlimited. We appeal to the habits and ferocity of the Irish Peasantry, over whom their Priesthood possesses an unlimited influence, and are confident the advantage must lie on the side of that Protestant England, which Mr. B. thus dares to vilify !

Whether these general improvements be attributable to the Reformation or not, their existence is undeniable : they are facts which at least rebut the charge of our having gone back in our progress towards national happiness, since that most remarkable era. Mr. B.'s mistake however seems to arise, in these and some other of his questions in the same chapter, from considering the Reformed Doctrines as accountable for those violent measures and cruel contentions which

certainly accompanied their establishment. But he should recollect that all great changes will necessarily produce them in a greater or less degree: it was the evil and corrupt passions of men, and not the Doctrines of the Bible taught by the Reformation, which was the true cause of them. The Reformation itself at most was the occasion only by *accident*, and not *design*: and if one side propagated it by violence, it should be recollected that the other rejected it with equal or greater violence. And after all it is but the same argument alleged by Infidels against Christianity itself, when they argue against its truth from the contests, violence and misery, which its impious professors have caused in the world, under a pretence of serving God, and forwarding the interests of Religion.

Our observations on Mr. Butler's work have been only applied to a few particular parts. So vast is the range he has taken, so numerous the assumptions he has made, so often, and almost universally, when entering into controverted doctrines, has he begged the question, that it were in vain to attempt to be particular, without going through every point of controversy be-

tween the Churches of England and of Rome: but we venture to say that a perusal of our good old English Divines, and particularly the works of Jewell, will be able to shew him, that notwithstanding the polite and even charitable exterior with which he has invested the errors of his Church, they are fundamentally opposed to both Reason and Revelation, although he has the authority of a Lutheran University* on his side.

And if he reads the Articles and Homilies of our Church, with Bishop Burnett's Exposition, he will soon see with what utter inconsistency those members of the Church of England have acted, who have acquitted the Church of Rome of idolatry, as quoted in his XVIIIth Chapter. Those authorities are certainly not of high reputation amongst us, nor are we aware (as asserted) that the disciples of Hoadly "form a large proportion of the clergy." But notwithstanding Mr. B.'s *politeness*, and tenderness about the rights of conscience, we perceive still repeatedly the uncompromising spirit of the Church of Rome. That Church is still with him the *only*

* Page 328.

true Church : the people must still not judge for themselves in matters of Religion, nor read the Bible without the Church's interpretation. But hardly did we expect to find in Mr. B. an apologist for the murder of the Prince of Orange, or for the Tragedy of a St. Bartholomew's day. Never did we expect the inconsistency that the plea for that massacre was admitted by the See of Rome ; and yet the Church of Rome is not chargeable with its guilt. Hardly did we expect that he would have made himself ridiculous by calling Rome " The Eternal City," or the Nuns " Celestial Beings."

When treating of the Temporal Power of the Popes we were quite surprised at the opinions he has brought forward. " From an humble fisherman," says Mr. B. " the Pope successively became the owner of houses and of lands, acquired the power of Magistracy in Rome," &c.* We are quite at a loss how to interpret this sentence. Does " the humble Fisherman " mean the Apostle Peter, or the first individual who took the title of Pope ? " Then the Pope," he adds, " did not stop, but claimed by divine

* Page 93.

gift a right to exercise supreme temporal power over all Christian Sovereigns, when a great good of Religion required it. This claim was unfounded—*both the Gospel and Tradition declared against it.*” Indeed this was a marvellous proof of his infallibility. Still more strangely he adds, “it produced great evil;” and then proceeds to show, both from argument and authority, that it was productive of extensive benefits to Christendom in general! Is this writing like an historian or a partizan? But we must profess ourselves shocked at his language, and contemplate with the utmost regret what we must deem profaneness and absurdity, where he talks of Christ’s “voluntary obedience to the Will of his Eternal Father, *and to the will of his Virgin Mother, as imitated by the Monks,* in a voluntary renunciation of their own wills.*

The strangeness of such phraseology and arguments makes Mr. Butler’s book at once ridiculous, and yet curious to the ears of a Protestant Reader: he has a method too of expressing himself on some occasions, and glancing at the most shock-

* Christian Remembrancer for February, 1825, p. 94 and 95.

ing transactions in a language so fastidious, refined, and puerile, as is most unparalleled, and yet ludicrous in the extreme. Who would have ever expected to have heard the epithet of *illaudable* applied to the impious Bulls of Pius V. and Sixtus Quintus? But if Mr. B.'s mistakes on doctrines are so erroneous, he is still more mistaken in his authorities; not appearing to be aware of that mutilation of ancient authors by the Romanists; from whose Editions alone he seems to have quoted; which circumstance fully acquits Mr. Southey.

There is however one assertion made by Mr. Butler which must not pass unnoticed; viz. that “commutations of penance for Money are, *at this time*, practised in our Church:” and he asks, whether *Doctor Glover* in his reply to the Bishop of Peterborough has not abundantly shown it? It really is of no consequence what *Doctor Glover* or any other person can prove upon the subject, since it must be most evident to all, that in whatever sense such a charge can be made, it cannot bear the most distant resemblance to the practice of the Church of Rome. Where there is no penance there can be no

commutation of it. But this is only one of the many instances in which Mr. Butler has laboured at establishing a conformity between the Churches of England and of Rome—but in vain. Whilst the Church of England appeals to the Inspired Writings alone, and the Church of Rome has superadded the Authority of Tradition;* there not only must result a sense and interpretation independent on sound criticism, and the Scriptures themselves; but, practices, rites, and ceremonies, which, as they depend on that interpretation, are in the view of the Protestant Church of England, erroneous, and absolutely at variance with Revelation itself; and which like the doctrines of the Scribes and Pharisees condemned by Christ, “must render the word of God of none effect through their Traditions.” And whilst this interpretation, which is independent on Scripture, is admitted, let not any member of the Church of Rome talk of conformity. There can be no common grounds to go upon between us, these are *primary* distinctions: and hence (as we find is actually the case) must always result the differences between

* Verbum Dei non scriptum.

what is Apostolical and Ancient, and what is Modern and Traditional—between what is the word of God, and what is the tradition of man—between what constitutes Genuine Catholicism, and what constitutes that which deserves no better name than an Apostate and pseudo-Catholicism!

Having thus endeavoured to shew that the Construction which Mr. Butler puts upon the principles and tenets of the Romish Church is not to be received with implicit confidence; we shall now in conclusion, to use the words of Bishop Marsh, “consider the two oaths of Fidelity which are taken by the Romish Clergy. One of them is taken by the beneficed Clergy *in general*; the other is taken by Bishops at their Consecration, and again by Archbishops, when they receive the Pallium. The former is a part of the Trent Profession of Faith, which it is here unnecessary to repeat, as it has before been given for the purpose of exhibiting the Romish Creed.”

“This oath, by a Decree of the Council of Trent and a Bull of Pius IV., is required to be taken

by all beneficed Clergymen in the presence of their Bishop, or his Official : and if they are members of a Chapter, they are required to repeat it in the Chapter. Now as the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent are holden in such Estimation at the College of Maynooth, that even in points of Discipline they are considered as a * “ Manual of the Clergy ;” we might conclude without further information, that this oath was taken by the beneficed Romish Clergy of Ireland. But if any doubt remained, that doubt would be removed by the Declaration of Dr. Troy, late titular Archbishop of Dublin, who says, “ that it is taken only on the appointment to a *Benefice* ;”† that is that the oath is taken only where the Council of Trent requires that it *shall* be taken.” ‡

We have thus arrived at a fact which it was

* Itaque *Maximo* in pretio illud Concilium habere debeant omnes Clerici, cum ratione *Dogmatum* sit veluti omnium præcedentium Synodorum compendium, et ratione *Disciplinæ* merito dici possit *Manuale Sacerdotum*, vel eorum qui Sacerdotio sunt initiandi. *Liber De Ecclesia*, p. 442.

† See Dr. Troy's Letter in the second appendix to Sir J. C. Hippisley's Speech of 1810, p. 24, 25.

‡ Bishop Marsh's Comparative View.

of the highest importance to ascertain, namely, that those who are in *possession* of an office, take the *oath* of office. But whosoever swears, that he considers the Church of Rome to be the *Mistress* of all Churches, must of necessity be hostile to the *Protestant* Established Church: he must consider it as his *Duty* to use every effort in regaining for the Mistress, what is now, in his opinion, usurped by the faithless Servant.

Again, whosoever swears that he “without doubt receives and professes *all* other things, which have been delivered, deferred, and declared by the Sacred Canons, and General Councils,” undoubtedly swears to that which is inconsistent with the allegiance due to his Sovereign. It is useless to declare that when he swears “obedience to the Pope,” he means obedience only in *Spirituals*: for among the things which have been delivered, defined, and declared by the Sacred Canons and General Councils, there are many which as much affect the *State* of this Country, as they do the Established Church,* The Canons which relate to *Discipline*,

* Dr. Delahogue himself, in reference to such Canons and Decrees of General Council, says, “Ex his omnibus Concilio-

no less than those which regard Faith and Morals, will be considered as binding by those who swear to receive them *all*.

Suppose therefore that the third Canon of the fourth Lateran Council be called merely a Canon of *Discipline*, still the whole body of the beneficed Clergy in Ireland who belong to the Romish Church are bound by their *oath* to obey it. And by this oath of Fidelity to the Pope,* the right to excommunicate and depose Princes

rum generalium Decretis, ex quibus Patres adversus *Hæreticos*, vel quoquo modo eis *Rebelles*, pœnas temporales cumulant cum Spiritualibus, manifestum est *Ecclesiam credidisse*, se a Christo aliquam accepisse potestatem in *Temporalibus*.

De Ecclesia Christi, p. 264.

* The Pope may deem, that the well governing of the Church requires the excommunication and deposition of his Majesty, and the Decree will come under the predicament; “jus de *his* decernendi pertinere *debet* ad Romanum Pontificem.” Of this tenet we find a very good explanation given by Cardinal Bellarmine; “Potest ac *debet* Pontifex omnibus Christianis ea *jubere* atque ad ea *cogere*, ad quæ quilibet eorum secundum statum suum tenetur, id est, singulos cogere, ut eo modo Deo serviant, quo secundum statum suum debent. Debent autem Reges Deo servire defendendo Ecclesiam, et *puniendo Hæreticos et Schismaticos*.—Ergo potest ac debet Regibus *jubere*, ut hoc faciant, et, nisi fecerint, etiam *cogere per excommunicationem aliasque commodas rationes*.”

De Romano Pontifice, lib. v. cap. 6.

who refuse to assist in the extirpation of Heresy is acknowledged. We therefore defy all the Casuists of the Church of Rome to reconcile this oath of Fidelity to the Pope, with the oath of Allegiance to the King.

“The oath,” says Bishop Marsh, “taken by Bishops at their Consecration, which is a very long one, is contained in the “Pontificale Romanum Clementio VIII. Pont. Max. jussu restitutum atque Editum. Romæ, 1595, fol.” Another edition of this Pontifical was published at Paris 1664, by the title “Pontificale Romanum Clementis VIII. primum, nunc denno Urbani VIII. auctoritate recognitum.” I have examined the Episcopal Oath in *both* editions, and have discovered no difference. I will therefore copy it as contained in p. 79 of the former, and p. 69 of the latter edition. There have been several English translations of it: but I give it *only* in the Latin because the meaning of several passages has been disputed.”*

“Ego N. Electus Ecclesiæ N. ab hac hora in
“antea fidelis, et obediens ero beato Petro
“Apostolo, sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et

* Bishop Marsh's Comparative View.

“ Domino nostro, Domino N. Papæ, N. suisque
“ successoribus canonice intrantibus. Non ero
“ in consilio, aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam
“ perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur mala
“ captione; aut in eos violenter manus quo-
“ modo libet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ in-
“ ferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium
“ vero, quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut
“ Nuntios suos, seu litteras, ad eorum damnum,
“ me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Ro-
“ manum, et Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis
“ ero ad retinendum et defendendum, salvo meo
“ ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum
“ Apostolicæ Sedis in eundo, et redeundo ho-
“ norifice tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus ad-
“ juvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auc-
“ toritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini
“ Nostri Papæ et successorum prædictorum,
“ conservare, defendere, augere, promovere cu-
“ rabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu
“ tractatu, in quibus contra ipsum Dominum
“ Nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam
“ aliqua sinistra, vel præjudicialia personarum,
“ juris, honoris, status, et potestatis eorum ma-
“ chinentur. Et, si talia a quibuscumque trac-
“ tari, vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro

“ posse, et quanto citius potero, significabo
 “ eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri, per quem
 “ posset ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas
 “ Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes,
 “ seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones,
 “ et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo,
 “ et faciam ab alias observari. [Hæreticos,
 “ Schismaticos, et Rebelles eidem Domino nos-
 “ tro, vel successoribus prædictis pro posse
 “ persequar, et impugnabo].* Vocatus ad Sy-

* This sentence Pius VI. by a Rescript dated June 1791, “ was graciously pleased to grant ” that the Irish Bishops might omit. But the Cardinals, who communicated the pleasure of his *Holiness* consoled them for the omission by declaring that * “ *the pursuit and opposition to Heretics, which the Bishops undertake, are to be understood as referring to their solicitude and efforts in convincing heretics of their error, and procuring their reconciliation with the Catholic Church.* ”

In like manner Dr. Delahogue,† in quoting the third Canon of the fourth Lateran Council, inserts in a parenthesis after the words *Hæreticis Exterminatis*, the explanation, *id est, vi vocis expulsis*. Now the Extermination of Heretics by the *voice of words* is a task too difficult even for the Church of *Rome*, aided by the powerful writings of Mr. Butler and the *miracle monger* Hohenloe. Moreover, when Heretics are denounced as *Rebels* to my Lord the Pope, the Bishop who swears ; “ pro posse persequar et impugnabo,” does not show a *very paternal solicitude*.

* See No. xvi. of Sir J. C. Hippisley's Appendix.

† De Ecclesia Christi, p. 263.

“ nodum veniam, nisi præpeditus fuero Canonica
“ præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis
“ trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo;
“ et Domino nostro, ac successoribus præfatis
“ rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio,
“ ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Ecclesiæ Sta-
“ tum, ad cleri, et populi Disciplinam, ani-
“ marumque denique quæ meæ fidei traditæ
“ sunt, salutem quovis modo pertinentibus, et
“ vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter re-
“ cipiam et quam diligentissime exequar. Quod
“ si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero, præ-
“ fata omnia adimplebo per certum Nuntium
“ ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem, de
“ gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate
“ Ecclesiastica constitutum, seu alias persona-
“ tum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus,
“ per Diœcesanum Sacerdotem; et Clero de-
“ ficiente omnino, per aliquem alium Pres-
“ byterum sæcularem, vel Regularem, spectatæ
“ probitatis, et Religionis, de supradictis om-
“ nibus plene instructum. De hujusmodi
“ autem impedimento docebo per legitimas
“ probationes ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ
“ Cardinalem Proponentem in Congregatione

“ Sacri Concilii,* per supradictum Nuntium
 “ transmittendas.”

“ Possessiones vero ad mensam meam per-
 “ tinentes non vendam, nec donabo, neque im-
 “ pignorabo; nec de novo infundabo, vel ali-
 “ quo modo alienabo etiam cum consensu Ca-
 “ pituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano
 “ Pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem
 “ devenero, pœnas in quadam super hoc edita
 “ constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere
 “ volo.”

“ Sic me Deus adjuvet, et hæc Sancta Dei
 “ Evangelia.”†

* For the words *Cardinalem proponentem in Congregatione Sacri Concilii*, are now substituted the words *Cardinalem præfectum* sacræ Congregationis de propaganda fide. The reason of this alteration is that the College *de propaganda fide* is the College with which the Romish Prelates in Ireland hold their Correspondence.

See Letter inserted in No. xvi. of Sir J. C. Hippisley's Appendix.

† To this oath the Romish Bishops of Ireland now add the following sentence: “ Hæc omnia et singula eo inviolabilius observabo, quo certior sim in illis nihil contineri, quod fidelitati meæ erga Serenissimum Magnæ Brittanniæ et Hiberniæ Regem, ejusque ad Thronum successores debitæ, adversari possit.” See Sir J. C. Hippisley's Supplementary Appendix, p. 24.

“ Such is the oath of fidelity to the Pope of Rome which is taken by the Romish Bishops of Ireland, with the exceptions already noted. The motive to the principal alteration, which consists in the omission of the words *Hæreticos*, *Schismaticos*, &c. is stated in the following representation * to Pope Pius VI.” “ The Archbishop’s Metropolitans of the Kingdom of Ireland represented to his Holiness, that from the ignorance or malice of some persons, certain expressions prescribed in the Roman Ritual† to be taken by Bishops at their Con-

This addition, with the single omission and alteration alluded to in the preceding notes, make the sum total of the differences between the form now used in Ireland, and the form which is printed in the “ Pontificale Romanum.”

* No. XVI. of Sir J. C. Hippisley’s Appendix to his Speech of 1810. The precise date of the representation does not appear ; but as the Pope’s answer is dated June 9, 1791, the representation itself must have been early in that year. About that time the Catholic question, as it is called, was a subject of much investigation in Ireland ; and the most obnoxious passage in the Episcopal oath having excited attention, it was deemed prudent to apply to the Pope on that subject.

† Here is a very strange mistake for a representation made by Romish *Metropolitans*. It is not the Roman *Ritual*, but the Roman *Pontifical*, which contains the Episcopal Oath. The *Rituale Romanum* contains the Offices which the Parochial Clergy perform in their respective Parishes, as Parish Priests.

“ secratation, and by Archbishops on receiving
 “ the Pall, have been misrepresented; which
 “ has added new perplexities to those which
 “ they daily experience in a kingdom where
 “ *the Catholic Faith is not the Religion of the*
 “ *State*. Wherefore they humbly requested, if
 “ it should appear expedient to his Holiness,
 “ that he would vouchsafe to apply a remedy
 “ by some act of his Apostolical Vigilance.”

The remedy itself has been already stated, but the *reason* why the titular Archbishop of Ireland thought a remedy necessary, is not unworthy of notice. The “*perplexities*” in which they were involved on this occasion, were owing, as they themselves declare, to the circumstance that “*the Catholic Faith is not the Religion of the State*.” Does not this imply that if the *Catholic Faith* were the Religion of the State, these perplexities would not *exist*? Must we not thence infer, that if the Romish Religion had been the *established* Religion of Ireland in 1791, it would not have been deemed *necessary* to apply for an

But the *Pontificale Romanum* prescribes the form for the *Ordination* of the Clergy, the *Consecration* of the Bishops, Abbots, &c.

omission of the sentence; “ *Hæreticos, Schismaticos, et Rebellis eidem Domino nostro, vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.*”

Nor would it then have been necessary to apply the mild construction which has lately been put upon those words. The “ *pro posse persequar,*” would have a very different meaning if the Romish Religion were the *Established Religion* of Ireland, from that which it has when the Romish Religion lies under *Restraint*. Nor must we forget that if the obnoxious sentence is *now* omitted, it may be at any time restored at the discretion of the Romish Bishops themselves. It is an *original* part of that oath, and if the Pope was “graciously pleased to grant” its omission on account of the *perplexities* of the Romish Bishops in Ireland; yet those *perplexities* being once removed, there is nothing to prevent the restoration of the sentence.

After this succinct but true exposition of some few of the prevailing errors of the Church of Rome, and of the fallacious grounds upon which Mr. Butler has founded his arguments; we would suggest to our Protestant Brethren the absolute necessity of using all lawful means

to preserve our country from Papal Tyranny; our laws, our estates, our liberties from Papal Invasion; our lives from Papal Persecution; and our Souls from Papal Superstition and Idolatry. We would remind them, in the words of Bishop Smalridge,* that “it would add great strength to our cause, if we exerted ourselves in defence of our Established Church with that hearty zeal, that unwearied industry, and above all with that firm union among ourselves, which we cannot but observe, approve, and be afraid of in our enemies. All the jarring parties amongst the Romanists cordially agree in promoting the interests of their Church. Franciscans and Dominicans, Jansenists and Jesuits, Seculars and Regulars lay aside their mutual quarrels, and join their forces against the Heretic as a common Adversary. And though, notwithstanding their so much boasted concord, there is after all neither unanimity in opinion, nor uniformity of Rites in that Church, it must be confessed that there is amongst them an union of Interests, which reconciles all differences, and makes them one entire and well compacted body. Thus,

* Bishop Smalridge's Sermons, folio, p. 391. Oxf. 1724.

when the Jews were employed in rebuilding the Holy City, we read, that their adversaries, however divided among themselves, were all united in obstructing that work. *It came to pass, saith the Sacred Historian,* that when Sanballat and Tobiah, and the Arabians, and the Ammonites, and the Ashdodites heard that the walls of Jerusalem were made up, and the breaches began to be stopped; then they were very wroth, and conspired all of them together, to come and fight against Jerusalem, and to hinder it."*

“ Against this united strength of our enemies we should be much better able to bear up, if we were as firmly combined in the defence of our Religion, as they are in assaulting it: if our scattered forces were brought to a closer order for securing that CHURCH which is most rigorously attacked by the Papists, as being by them known to be the strongest Bulwark against Popery. Wise was the observation, and wholesome the advice which † Nehemiah gave to the Nobles, to the Rulers, and to the rest of the People, upon a like occasion: *the work is great*

* Nehemiah iv. 7, 8.

† Chap. iv. 19, 20.

and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another; in what place therefore ye hear the sound of the Trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our God shall fight for us. May our Nobles, our Rulers and the rest of our People be thus united in defence of those Ramparts which the Wisdom of our Lawgivers hath provided against the Assaults of Popery: may the *great and large work* be carried on by joint assistance and by well concerted measures: may those who at present *are separated too far from one another*, draw nearer together for their common defence: may every one in his place and station diligently labour in this necessary work: may *God fight for us*; and under God, may Prudence be unto us a weapon of Defence against the treacherous designs of our most subtle and most pernicious Enemies!"

L I F E

OF THE

RIGHT REVEREND JOHN JEWELL, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

THE
LIFE
OF
BISHOP JEWELL.

(FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS.)

THOUGH Truth and Reason may justly claim the Privilege of a candid reception whoever advances them, yet, such is the Nature of Mankind, that the Face of a Stranger is ever surveyed with more than ordinary Attention; as if Men thought generally it was the most lively index of that which they seek to know; the Soul and Temper of a Man. Because this is not to be expected at first sight in Books, where it is most eagerly desired; Men have attempted to supply that defect with Pictures: and, which affords much more satisfaction, by premising the Lives and Characters

of the Authors : whence the reader receives a truer and more lasting idea of Men than it is possible for Pencils or Colours to convey.

The Author of the following elaborate Treatise ought to be so well known to *Englishmen*, that his *Name* alone should be a sufficient recommendation to any Work which can claim a descent from him. But it now being more than two Centuries since his death ; and his Books, which were for a long time chained up in all Churches, being now almost entirely unknown to a large majority of his Countrymen, it may not be esteemed an unseasonable piece of service to the Church to use every means for reviving the Memory or extending the Reputation of this great and good Man, the invincible Champion of the Church of England ; who losing the opportunity of sacrificing himself for that Church in the Reign of Queen Mary, did it with more advantage to us, though with pain to himself, under her Royal Successor ; when

he so freely devoted himself to her service, that having exhausted his slender body by excessive labour and intense study, he died young, bequeathing to himself the reward of his meritorious and good deeds; a glorious and imperishable Name.

John Jewell was born May 24th, A.D. 1522, at Buden, in the Parish of Berinerber, in the County of Devon; and, though a younger brother, he inherited the name of his Father. For his Mother he had so great an esteem, that he caused her family name, Bellamy, to be engraved on his Signet; and had it always impressed on his mind, as a lasting token of her Virtue and Maternal Affection. His Father was descended from an ancient and good, but not rich family; and though his Ancestors had enjoyed the Estate for more than two hundred years, yet having, as is recorded, ten children, it is no wonder that Jewell in his early days required the assistance of benevolent men in the prosecution of his Studies.

At the age of seven, Jewell received the first rudiments of his Education, under the eye of his uncle, John Bellamy, Rector of Hamton; afterwards he attended a school at Branton, under Mr. Thomas Stotes; at South Molton, under Antony Simons; and at Barnstaple, under Walter Bowin, where he had for his school-fellow, Dr. John Harding, who was afterwards his furious antagonist*.

He was of an amiable and industrious disposition in his Youth, and gave early indication of his great talent and insatiable thirst for Knowledge; which was carefully cultivated both by his Parents and Teachers: and so rapid was his progress, that at the age of thirteen he was admitted a Student of Merton College, Oxford, under a Mr. Burrey, a man neither possessed of much Knowledge nor favourable notions towards the Reformation, which then, in the reign of Henry the Eighth, made but little progress.

* Vide Fuller's Worthies, in Devonshire, p. 253.

But to this his first Tutor we are nevertheless much beholden for having committed so promising a youth to the care of Mr. John Parkhurst, a fellow of the same College, who was afterwards Bishop of Norwich; a man of greater Learning and better Faith: who prudently instilled into the mind of his pupil, together with instruction, those Principles which ultimately made him the favourite and Wonder of the Age.

During his residence at Merton College a plague broke out at Oxford, which obliged him to remove to a place called Croxham, when, by lodging in a low room and ardently pursuing his studies in the night, he caught a Cold, which brought on a lameness that afflicted him to the last moment of his life. Having spent almost four years at Merton College, August 19th, A.D. 1539, in the thirty-first year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, and seventeenth of his age, he was, through the interest of a Mr. Slater, Mr.

Burrey, and Mr. Parkhurst, his Tutors, removed to Corpus Christi College, in the same University, where it is said he met with some countenance ; but it is certain also, that he encountered envy from his equals, who often suppressed his ingenious Exercises, and read others in their stead more like their own. In the month of October of the following year, Jewell proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts with great and general applause ; and he now prosecuted his studies with more vigour than before, beginning them at four in the morning and continuing them till ten at night, absolutely needing some person to remind him of the necessity of taking food. He soon attained a great Reputation for Learning, and began to instruct others : indeed so much was he esteemed, that Mr. John Parkhurst, his Tutor, intrusted his son Anthony to his care ; which was a great argument in favour of his Worth and Industry. His own College now chose him Reader of Humanity and Rhetoric, which duty he for seven years dis-

charged with such great credit, that he received both applause and honour, and is said to have taught more by Example than Precept. Jewell was a great admirer of Cicero and Horace; and both read and imitated the Works of Erasmus: and agreeable to what he invariably asserted "*That men acquired more Learning by the frequent Exercise of the Pen, than by reading many Books,*"—it was his custom to write something every day. He was not accustomed to study the flowers of Rhetoric, nor other beauties of language, though no man understood them better; for he himself had written a Dialogue on the Art of Rhetoric: but he endeavoured rather to express himself fluently, neatly, and with great weight of Argument and strength of Reason.

He commenced Master of Arts in February, A.D. 1544: his good Tutor, Mr. John Parkhurst, who then possessed the rich Rectory of Cleve in the Diocese of Gloucester, generously

paying his Fees. Nor was this the only instance of that benevolent man's bounty to him; for he often invited Jewell to his house, and seldom dismissed him without presents, consisting of money, and other things necessary for the prosecution of his studies. One morning, when Jewell and some companions, who were the guests of Parkhurst, were about to depart for the University, coming into their room, he seized upon their purses, exclaiming—"What money, I wonder, have those miserable, beggarly Oxonians?" And finding them pitifully empty, he amply replenished them.

Edward the Sixth succeeded his Father, January, A.D. 1546; and the Reformation, the progress of which had, in the preceding reign, been continually checked, now proceeded more regularly and rapidly. In 1548, this Prince invited Peter Martyr from Germany, and appointed him Professor of Divinity at Oxford. This was an event of no small import-

ance to Jewell, who became one of his most constant hearers; and by the assistance of some Stenographical Characters, invented by himself for the purpose, noted down all his Lectures, almost as perfectly as they were delivered. About this time, Martyr was publicly insulted and interrupted in the delivery of his Lectures, by Dr. Smith, a papist; who had formerly possessed the Chair, rather a Sophist than a sound Divine. The German however was not to be surprised into a defeat, but with great presence of mind, remembered and defended his opinions in the schools, where a Tumult arose; the Protestants supporting Martyr, and the Papists the deposed Professor. This insult gave rise to a Public Disputation, to which Martyr challenged Dr. Smith; but the latter fearing to be called in question for the uproar he had occasioned, fled to St. Andrew's in Scotland. The Disputation, which began May 28th, A.D. 1549, and lasted five days, was held before a Council, appointed for the occasion, consisting of

Henry, Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. R. Cox, Chancellor of Oxford, Dr. Christopher Nevison, Dr. Simon Haines, and Richard Morison, Esq., Commissioners and Moderators: the popish Doctors, Tresham and Chadsy, and a person named Morgan, being opposed to Martyr. The Subject was the *Lord's Supper*, and the Dispute was conducted with tolerable decency. Martyr, who already began to entertain great esteem for him, appointed Jewell to report the proceedings, from which records it was published, A.D. 1649.

Jewell proceeded to the Degree of Bachelor of Divinity, A.D. 1551, on which occasion he preached an excellent Latin Sermon, (still extant, nearly perfect,) taking for his Text the words of St. Peter, Ep. I. cap. iv. ver. 11. "If any man speak, let him speak as the oracles of God," &c. And upon those words he founded such incontrovertible Doctrines, and made such wise and holy reflections, in so pure and elegant a style, as established his

reputation as a Scholar and Divine with all the World.

At this period he accepted a small Living called Sunningwell, near Oxford; not on account of its proceeds, which were small, but from a desire of doing good; and, though lame, he walked thither once a fortnight. He was at the same time frequently preaching both publicly and privately in his own College, and in the University. He had now acquired many friends, amongst others a Mr. Curtop, then a Fellow of his own College, and afterwards Canon of Christ-Church, who allowed him forty shillings per annum; in those days a considerable sum. Also from a Mr. Chambers, who was intrusted with the distribution of certain charities from London for the assistance of the Poor Scholars in Oxford, he received six pounds per annum for the purchase of books.

The death of Edward the Sixth, which

happened July 6th, A. D. 1553, and the succession of Queen Mary, which followed the seventeenth of the same month, were events which proved fatal to many of the Reformers and their cause; and no one felt its fury sooner than Jewell, for, before any law existed, or any mandate was issued by the Queen for that purpose, he was expelled by the Fellows of his College on their own private authority; whose accusations against him were—1st, that he was a follower of Peter Martyr; 2ndly, his preaching some Doctrines contrary to Popery; 3rdly, his taking Orders according to the Laws *then* in force:—But Fuller, in his Church History, says, he was expelled for refusing to be present at *Mass*. Such, however, was the fury against him, that John Moren, a fellow of his own College, who acknowledged his life to be—“*Angelical and extremely honest*”—could not forbear calling him *Lutheran*, *Zwinglian* and *Heretic*, by way of reproach.

Jewell is said to have taken leave of his

College in nearly the following words :—“ In my last Lectures I have imitated the custom of famished men, who, when they see their meat likely to be suddenly and unexpectedly snatched from them, devour it with the greater haste and greediness. For whereas I intended thus to put an end to my Lectures, and perceived that I was like forthwith to be silenced, I made no scruple to entertain you (contrary to my former usage) with much unpleasant and ill-dressed Discourse ; for I see I have incurred the displeasure and hatred of some, but whether deservedly or no, I shall leave to their consideration ; for I am persuaded that those who have driven me from hence, would not suffer me to live any where if it were in their Power. But as for me, I willingly yield to the times, and if they can derive down to themselves any satisfaction from my Calamity, I would not hinder them from it. But as ARISTIDES, when he went into exile and forsook his Country, prayed that they might never more think of him ; so

I beseech God to grant the same to my Fellow Collegians; and what can they wish for more? Pardon me my Hearers, if grief has seized me, being to be torn from that place against my will where I have passed the first part of my Life, where I have lived pleasantly, and been in some Honour and Employment. But why do I thus delay to put an end to my Misery by one word? Woe is me, that (with my extreme sorrow and resentment I at least speak it) I must say farewell my Studies, farewell to these beloved Houses, farewell thou pleasant Seat of Learning, farewell to the most delightful Conversation with you, farewell Young Men, farewell Lads, farewell Fellows, farewell Brethren, farewell ye beloved as my Eyes, farewell ALL, farewell."

In those simple, yet pathetic words, he took leave of his Lectureship, Fellowship, and College: and was thus, at one blow, reduced to great Distress and Poverty: but he

for some time found an asylum in *Broad-gates-Hall*, another College in the same University.

As some recompense for the manner in which he was so inhumanly driven from his own College, and deprived of all emolument, the University appointed him her Orator: and in this official character, he shortly after penned a curious Congratulatory Address, on the behalf and in the name of the University: * “ *Expressing in it the Countenance of the Roman Senators in the beginning of Tiberius’s Reign, exquisitely tempered and composed, to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it; the one for dead Augustus; the other for reigning Tiberius. And upon the Assurance of several of her Nobles, that the Queen would not change the Established Re-*

* There being no entire copy extant, for the Heads of this Address, see Laurence’s translation of Humfrey’s Life of Bishop Jewell.

ligion, expressing some hopes she would so do, which was confirmed then to them by the Promise the Queen had made to the Suffolk and Norfolk Gentry, who had rescued her out of the very Jaws of Ruin."

Fuller, in his Church History, asserts that the composition of this Address was put upon Jewell as a trick, that he might be insnared by the adverse party: but others assert, there was no foundation for this suspicion, and that he was chosen Orator on account of the injuries he had experienced, and as a regard for his great learning and superior style in composition. Of the reading of this Address, the last named historian has recorded the following incidents:—Whilst Jewell was reciting the Address to Dr. Tresham the Vice-Chancellor, the great Bell of Christ-Church, which the Doctor had a few days before caused to be re-cast and named Mary, in honour of the Queen, tolled: and on hearing its sound, which now called him to his be-

loved *Mass*, he burst forth with this Exclamation: “*O delicate and sweet harmony! O beautiful Mary, how musically she sounds, how^a strangely she pleaseth my Ears!*” Thus rudely silencing the discomfited Orator, who was obliged to yield to his insolence. He was now ejected from all preferment, and became obnoxious to his haughty and exulting Enemies; and although he endeavoured to allay their hatred by Humility and Compliance, his Meekness only drew upon him fresh and unprovoked Insults. Amongst all his Adversaries, none more eagerly sought his ruin than Dr. Martial, Dean of Christ-Church; a Man who had then twice changed his Religion, and did the same twice or thrice more during the Reign of Elizabeth: and having himself neither Conscience nor Religion, he was the more anxious to make Jewell a Papal Sacrifice. In order to accomplish this, he sent to him by the hands of Inquisitors a Bead-Roll of Popish Doctrines, to which he commanded him

to subscribe on pain of *Fire* and *Faggot*, and other hellish *Tortures*; and Jewell, having no friend at hand, nor time allowed him to consult any, took the pen in his hand saying:—"Have you a mind to see how well I can write?"—and with great reluctance subscribed his Name. But even this did not satisfy his Enemies, who well knew his great friendship for, and familiar intercourse with Peter Martyr; for they seemed to aim at nothing less than his life: and at length, deserted by his friends for his sinful compliance, pursued like a wounded Deer by his insatiable foes, but more agitated by remorse and the inward reproaches of his own Conscience, he fled for safety. This step was fortunate for him, for had he remained in Oxford another night, or pursued his way to London by the direct road, he would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to the fury of those Blood-hounds. Augustin Berner, a Swiss, once a servant to Bishop Latimer, and afterwards a Minister,

found him lying on the ground almost dead, from grief, weariness, and cold; being obliged though lame to travel on foot.

This man, like the good Samaritan, poured consolation into his wounded mind, set him upon his own horse, and conveyed him to the mansion of Lady Ann Warcupps, who entertained him for some time, and then sent him to London where he could abide with greater safety.

Jewell twice or thrice changed his lodgings during his stay in London, that he might elude his enemies; but his departure from the country was at length facilitated by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a Minister of State in those days; who furnished him with money for his journey, and a vessel to convey him to the continent beyond the reach of his foes. Previously however to his abode in London, poor Jewell in his perplexity was willing to have the advice and assistance of his old

friend and Tutor, Mr. Parkhurst; and for that purpose undertook a tedious journey on foot to Cleve, in which, through the intense cold and snow, he was reduced to the very verge of the grave: and he found on his arrival, which added much to his misery and was the occasion of his falling into the error of signing the Popish Doctrines on his return to Oxford, that his friend, hearing of the restoration of the *Mass*, had himself fled for fear: but God, ever watchful for the safety of the faithful, wrought his escape and recovery by means of Berner, as before related: A. D. 1554, which was the second year of the Reign of Queen Mary. He arrived at Frankfort, and there to his no small satisfaction found Mr. Richard Chambers, his former benefactor; Dr. Robert Horne, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; Dr. Sands, Bishop of London; Sir Francis Knowles, a Privy Counsellor, afterwards Lord Treasurer; and his eldest Son; with many others: by all of whom he was received with great kindness,

because he came both unlooked for, and un-
hoped for, from the report of the error he
had fallen into. They however immediately
advised him to make a Public Recantation,
which he readily undertook; and ascending
the Pulpit on the next Lord's-Day ad-
dressed his Auditory in the following words:
*“ It was my abject and cowardly mind, and
faint heart that made my weak hand commit
this wickedness :”* And having uttered these
words as well as his sighs and tears would
permit him, he addressed himself in fervent
Prayer, first to God Almighty for his Pardon,
and then to the Church; during which ap-
peal the Audience melted into tears; and
ever afterwards esteemed him more for his
ingenuous Repentance, than they would per-
haps have done had he never fallen from the
Truth. And let not those who have never
been tried with such a price as that of Life
itself to tempt them to comply, brand the
memory of this great man with the frailty of
his nature; but let them remember the admo-

dition of the Apostle St. Paul; “*Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.*”

Jewell had not long resided at Frankfort before Peter Martyr, who himself had narrowly escaped from England with his life, solicited him to come to Strasburgh, where that Divine was then settled and provided for;—“For there was no Person (says Dr. Heylyn*) more openly aimed at than he, because none of them had given deeper wounds to the *Catholic* cause. One Tresham, a Senior Canon of Christ-Church, who had held some Points against him at his first coming thither, now took the benefit of the times to be revenged on him, and incited those of Christ-Church and other Houses to affront him publicly: so that not finding any safety at Oxford, he retired to the Palace of Archbishop Cranmer at Lambeth, where he was sure of as much protection as the place could afford him. A Consultation had been

* Vide *Ecclesia Restaurata*, 196.

held by some of the more fiery Spirits for his commitment to prison; but he first came to England (as was well known) on the Public Faith; which was not to be violated for the satisfaction of a few private Persons. It was thought fit therefore to discharge him of all further employment, and to license him to depart in peace: none being more forward to furnish him with all things for his going hence than the new Lord Chancellor, Bishop Gardiner: whether in honour to his Learning, or out of a desire to send him packing shall not now be questioned: but less humanity was shown to him in the remains of his Wife; whose Body having been buried in the Church of St. Frideswide, was afterwards by public order taken out of the Grave, and buried in a common *Dunghill*. In the Reign of Queen Elizabeth however it was removed, and her bones mixed with St. Francis."—Martyr did not entirely confide in the assistance of Gardiner; but, having procured the Queen's Passport

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and Leave for his departure, he concealed himself fourteen days on the English Coasts, privately took shipping, arrived at Antwerp in the night, started from thence by Coach before daybreak, and arrived safely at Strasbourg, October 30, A.D. 1553. We scarcely need wonder at Queen Mary (who was so bigotted a Papist and so completely Priest-ridden) wanting faith towards particular Reformers; since she not only broke her Promise to the men of Suffolk who stood by her in her greatest necessity; but, when they challenged the performance of that Promise, treated them with extreme severity: and one Dobbe, who had spoken more boldly than the rest was by her command set in the *Pillory for three days* *. Nor did she scruple to break her more solemn engagement made in Council, August 12, 1553:—“ *That although her Conscience was staid in the Matters of Religion, yet she was resolved not to compel or strain others: otherwise than as God*

* Vide Burnett, Vol. ii., page 245, 246.

should put into their Hearts a persuasion of that truth she was in: and this she hoped should be done by the opening his word to them, by Godly, virtuous, and learned Preachers." Considering therefore how little regard she paid to the keeping of her most solemn Promises made to her Subjects, no wonder she regarded but lightly the Faith given to this stranger in her Brother's Reign.

Martyr remembered with gratitude, that many of Jewell's misfortunes had befallen him through his attachment to himself and his Doctrines when at Oxford: and therefore he did not cease his importunities till he prevailed on him to come to Strasburgh; when he took him to his own table; where he remained till the termination of his exile. During his abode there Jewell was very serviceable to Martyr in the preparation of the Edition of his Commentaries on the Book of Judges; which were all transcribed for the Press by him. He was also accustomed to read to Martyr

every day some part of one of the Christian Fathers; generally St. Augustin, with whose Writings they were both much delighted. There were then at Strasburgh J. Poynet, Bishop of Winchester; Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of York; Sir Edwin Sands; Sir Anthony Coke, knight; J. Cheeke; and several other eminent English Characters who had fled thither on account of their Religion; and who were led from their intercourse with Jewell to hold him in such esteem, that it laid the foundation of his future advancement in the Church.

Martyr had for some time been solicited by the Senate of Zurich to take upon him the office of Professor of Hebrew, and Interpreter of the Scriptures; which had become vacant by the death of Conrad Pellican; who died at the advanced age of one hundred years, and was esteemed almost the first Hebraist of his day. Martyr yielded to their importunity; and on the 13th of July, A.D. 1556, taking Jewell

with him, he departed for Zurich to enter upon the Professorial Office. Here he found James Pilkington, Bishop of Durham, and several others; who had assistance afforded them through Mr. Richard Chambers out of the purses of Mr. Richard Springham, Mr. John Abel, and Mr. Thomas Eton, merchants of London; and others their friends. These their Benefactors being discovered by the wily Gardiner, he threatened them, *that he would make them eat their fingers' ends for hunger*: and it was sore against his will that he proved a false prophet; for he imprisoned, and otherwise punished so many of those who supplied the fugitives, that they received but small assistance from England. This calamity was however in some degree averted by the generous conduct of Christopher, Prince of Wittenberg, the Senators of Zurich, and the foreign Divines; through whose kindness they still enjoyed a tolerable subsistence: but Jewell stood less in need of this than any; having the entire protection of

Peter Martyr, whose Hospitality to him was unbounded. Thus it is stated by Humfrey*; but according to the first lines of Jewell's Epistle to Signor Scipio he studied some time at Padua. Probably during his abode with Martyr he journeyed across the Alps to Padua, and there contracted a friendship with the above named Venetian Gentleman: as his travelling is mentioned in no other of his works; nor by any other author. During the period of his Exile, which lasted about four years, he spent his time in diligently pursuing his studies, consoling his brethren in their common misfortunes, and confirming them in a patient resignation: frequently telling them what bitter Tortures and horrible Martyrdoms were suffered in England; and that it was therefore not reasonable for them to expect to lead an undisturbed life in their Banishment: always concluding his discourse with—" *Hæc non durabunt ætatem.*" (These things will not last for

* Vide His Life of Bishop Jewell, p. 50.

an age.) This he repeated so often, and with so great an assurance of mind that it would be so, that many believed in it before it came to pass; and more afterwards took it for a prophetic sentence.

When the English fugitives fled from their native Country they were all of one Faith*: but some of them going to Geneva and other places which had embraced the Doctrines set forth by Calvin, they became attached to foreign Novelties, and laid aside their own Belief. Some of those residing at Frankfort began, in the year 1554, to remodel the Liturgy; and endeavoured to draw others into their follies. Knox, the well-known Scottish Reformer†, was amongst the first to join those disturbers of the general

* Dr. Heylyn affirms the contrary, declaring that Wittingham, Williams, and Goodman, who were the chief Promoters of the dissensions at Frankfort, were Zuinglians before they left England.—Vide *Ecclesia Restaurata*, page 228.

† Vide M'Crie's Life.

unanimity which had hitherto prevailed; and he was followed soon after by Whitehead a zealous Calvinist, but less violent than the former.

Not contented with this proceeding, they wrote Letters to their friends at Zurich in open defiance of the English Liturgy, Nov. 15th, A.D. 1554; which were replied to and refuted by those who remained unshaken in the Faith the twenty-eighth of the same month. Grindal and Chambers were sent from Strasburgh to Frankfort to endeavour to quiet those Innovators; but to no purpose. On their return, the English at Strasburgh wrote a Letter to them, Dec. 13th, which obtained but little attention, save the opinion of Calvin himself; which, none need wonder, agreed with that of the Disturbers. This was the state of affairs till the thirteenth of March following; when Dr. Richard Cox entered Frankfort, obliged Knox to leave that place, and resettled the Liturgy.

About the end of the following August Fox with some others went to Basil; but the greater number followed Knox and Goodman to Geneva, ‘their Mother City’; (says Dr. Heylyn) and those two were chosen by them for their Constant Preachers. Under their Ministry the whole Frame and Fabric of the Reformation made in England in the time of King Edward was rejected; and those of Geneva, &c., were wholly adopted instead. Jewell was during this Schism at Zurich; and endeavoured by every means in his power not only to stop it, but to reclaim them to their former Faith;—“ *Exhorting them as Brethren to lay aside all strife and Emulation, especially about such small matters; least thereby they should greatly offend the minds of all good men: which thing (he said) they ought to have a principal care of.*” Jewell, like a great, good, and pious Man, afterwards thought, that their Gratitude to Almighty God, for restoring them to their Native Country under the Auspicious Reign

of Queen Elizabeth of Blessed Memory, would surely put an end to this difference of Opinion; of which he seems to hint in his *Apology for the Church of England**: but a few years after he had written that elaborate and unanswerable Work it broke out again with a malignant aspect. About the period of his death it became more troublesome than at any former time: and within a century afterwards, such was the infatuation of its abettors, that it gave rise to a cruel and bloody Rebellion, which annihilated for a time both the Church and Monarchy of Great Britain.

Jewell and our other Exiles, the 17th of Nov. A D. 1558, received the welcome intelligence that God had remembered the distressed state of the Church by removing its Scourge; and they hastened to their Native and beloved Country to congratulate their

* Vide the Conclusion.

good Queen, Elizabeth on her Succession to the British Throne.

Upon the announcement of those welcome tidings, his former Benefactor and Tutor, Mr. Parkhurst, hastened to Germany to visit his pupil; but did not accompany him to England, being fearful that the route chosen by Jewell was not the safest. He had however just cause to repent of adopting another; for, added to the fatigues of his journey, he was robbed of all he possessed. Jewell, who arrived earlier and in safety, hastened to his relief; happy in having an opportunity of showing his gratitude, and making some return for the many kind offices he had received at the hands of Mr. Parkhurst*.

There is no record of the exact time of Jewell's reaching England; and, being at the proclamation of Queen Mary's death resident in Zurich, it is probable he was not one of the

* FULLER, C. H.

first who returned ; for the news did not reach that place so early as it did others, where many of the exiles took refuge*. On his arrival therefore he found things in a forward state for the reception and advancement of the Reformation: the Queen having, by a Proclamation dated December 30th, A. D. 1558, ordered—“ *That no man, of what quality soever he were, should presume to alter any thing in the State of Religion, or innovate in any of the Rites or Ceremonies thereunto belonging, &c., until some further order should be taken therein. Only it was permitted, and withall required, that the Litany, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed and the Ten Commandments should be said in the ENGLISH Tongue ; and that the Epistle and Gospel should be read in ENGLISH at the time of the High Mass: which was done in all the Churches of LONDON, on the next Sunday after, being New-year's-Day ; and by degrees in all the other Churches in the Kingdom : Further than this*

* MART. LETTERS.

she thought it not convenient to proceed at the present: only she prohibited the Elevation of the Sacrament at the Altar of the Chapel Royal; which was likewise forborne in all other Churches: and she set at liberty all those who had been imprisoned for Religion in her Sister's time; and ordered the Liturgy to be revised with great care; and that a Parliament should be summoned to sit at Westminster the 25th of January, 1559."*

These things were probably done before Jewell reached England, and it is doubtful whether he were present at the Coronation. Mr. Nicholas Culverwell entertained him during the first six months of his residence in the British Realms; but falling sick, shortly after the summoning of the Parliament, he was invited to the house of Dr. Wm. Thames; where he abode for some time.

The Liturgy being then reviewed, and what-

* Vide Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata*: Burnett's *History of the Reformation*.

ever tended to create opposition and discontent in the breasts of the Papal Adherents being expunged; (in order to facilitate the passing an Act of Parliament for the settling it, and the establishment of other things that were necessary,) a Public Disputation was appointed to be holden on the 13th of the following March, in the Church of Westminster; in the English Tongue; and in the presence of as many of the Lords, Council, and of the Members of both Houses as were desirous to obtain information on the nature and state of the Questions. It was also appointed, that it should be conducted by an interchange of Writings upon every point, for the prevention of confusion; each Writing to be answered the next day, and so on from day to day till the whole was concluded. To these regulations the Bishops at first consented; but they afterwards refused the dictation. There were three Questions:—First, Concerning Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue; Second, the Power of the Church to change

Rites and Ceremonies; Third, the Propitiatory Sacrifice of the Mass for the Living and the Dead.

Jewell did not long remain inactive. He was first employed as one of the Disputants for the Reformed Party; and, though last on the list, was not the least in esteem; for it was well understood, that, exclusive of his former great knowledge, he had made important acquirements during the period of his Exile. This Disputation was, however broken off by the Popish Party; who refused to abide by the appointed Order: which at that time prevented Jewell's making any display either of his Zeal or Learning.

On the 6th of April Jewell wrote a particular account of the Disputation; which, says Burnett, though it is upon the Matter the same that is in my History, yet since it is both a Confirmation of it, and has some Circumstances that are New, I have put it in my

Collection.—“ He tells him (Peter Martyr) that Cole (a Popish Prelate) treated the Reformers with many Reproaches, and much Scorn; and called them Seditious Incendiaries. He delivered his Speech with great Emotion, stamping with his Feet, and putting himself as in Convulsions. He said the Apostles divided their Work into two Provinces, the *Western* and the *Eastern*: The First St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* had given them; where the Worship was to be all in *Latin*: The *Eastern* division fell to the other Apostles; where all was to be performed in *Greek*. This he introduced with Pomp as a thing certain. He affirmed that it was *not* fit the People should understand the Public Worship; for *Ignorance* was the Mother of Devotion. The Paper prepared by the Reformers was read Gravely and Modestly by *Horn**: so that all who were present, (he Names the Earl of Shrewsbury in particular,) acknowledged the Victory was clearly on their Side. By this,

* Bishop of Winchester.

and by what happened the Second Day, the Popish Cause sunk much in the Opinion of the People *.”

The Parliament ended its sitting May, A. D. 1559: and, by virtue of an Act passed soon after Midsummer, the Queen caused a Visitation of all the Dioceses in England to be made by Commissioners, for the purpose of rectifying all things they should find amiss; and which could not be redressed by any Episcopal Power, without wasting more time than the exigencies of the period would allow. To effect this a Book of Articles was printed, and the inquiry made on oath by the Commissioners. Jewell was again employed, being appointed one of the Commissioners for the West of England. This gave him an opportunity of visiting his Native County; which till then he had not done: so much had he been occupied since his return in the

* Burnett's History of the Reformation, Vol. III. B. vi. p. 275, 1715.

passing events of this most critical period for the Reformers. During his sojourn amongst them in his official character he preached to, and disputed with his Countrymen; endeavouring more to win them to the Doctrines of the Reformation by good Usage, Civility, and Reason, than to awe them by exerting the Authority with which, as a Commissioner, the Queen had armed him. The Commissioners returned to London in the following January, and gave the Queen a good and satisfactory account of their Visitation. At this time, Jewell was only a Bachelor of Divinity; notwithstanding, so highly was he esteemed, that she nominated him to the Bishopric of Salisbury; which had been vacant about three years, by the decease of his immediate predecessor, John Capon. At first he modestly declined the proffered dignity; but finally, in obedience to the commands of his Sovereign, acquiesced in the acceptance*. Here Divine

* Jewell was elected Bishop, August 21st, A. D. 1559; had the Royal assent, December 27th; was confirmed,

Providence again showered its favours on his head, and gave him the advantage of seniority over his old Benefactor and Tutor, Mr. Parkhurst; who was not consecrated Bishop of Norwich till the 14th of the following July. Still however in point of Revenue Parkhurst had the preference; for the Bishopric of Salisbury was so miserably impoverished by the former Diocesan that Jewell complained—" *There was never a good Living left him that would maintain a Learned Man. For (said he) the CAPON has devoured all: because he hath either given away or sold all the Ecclesiastical Dignities and Livings.*" Thus the good Bishop was under the necessity all his Life of taking extraordinary pains in travelling and preaching throughout his Diocese: which great labour assisted in bringing him to an earlier grave than Bishop Parkhurst; who, leading

January 18th; consecrated, January 21st; enthroned, March 6th; and had restitution of the Temporalities, April 6th, A. D. 1560.—Vide RYMER'S ACTA, Vol. xv. p. 555.

an easier life, being in the possession of a rich Bishopric, out-lived his Pupil three years.

Bishop Jewell was most remarkable for his Apostolic doctrine, holy life, prudent government, incorrupt integrity, unspotted chastity, and bountiful liberality. In his first visitation he began, and in his last he perfected such a reformation, not only in the Cathedral and Parochial Churches, but in all courts of his jurisdiction, as procured him, and the whole order of Bishops, due reverence and esteem. For he was a careful overlooker and strict observer, not only of all the Flocks, but of all the Pastors of his Diocese: and he watched the proceedings of his Chancellor and Archdeacons, his Stewards and Receivers so narrowly, that they had no opportunity of being guilty of oppression, injustice, and extortion; nor of being a burden to the people, and a Scandal to himself. To prevent these, and the like abuses, for which the Episcopal Courts were often too justly censured, he sat

often in his Consistory Court; and saw that all things were carried rightly there. Neither did he sit as Judge in the Consistory only, but also often times as assistant on the Bench of Justice; (being himself a Justice of the Peace) informing the Judges in such causes where the Law of God and the Law of the Land seemed to clash; and exhorting the prisoners willingly and patiently to submit to the Stroke of Justice. With regard to his more private conduct, he rose at four o'clock in the morning; and, after prayers with his family at five, and in the Cathedral at six, he was so fixed to his Studies all the morning, that he could not without great violence be drawn from them. After dinner his doors and ears were open to all suitors; and it was observed of him, as of Titus, that he never sent any sad from him. Suitors being thus dismissed, he heard with the most unwearied attention and patience such causes debated before him, as either devolved to him as a Judge, or were referred to him as an Arbitra-

tor : and, if he could spare any time from these troublesome affairs, he reckoned it as clear gain to his study. About nine o'clock at night he called all his servants to an account, how they had spent the day ; commending those who had done well, and rebuking such as had neglected their duty ; and then went to prayers with them. From the Chapel he withdrew again to his Study till near midnight ; and from thence to his bed : in which after he was laid, the gentleman of his bed-chamber read to him till he fell asleep. This watchful and laborious kind of life without any recreation at all, except what his necessary refreshment at his meals, and a very few hours of rest in the night afforded him, wasted his precious life too fast ; and undoubtedly hastened his end*.

The Sunday before Easter of this year, March 30th, A. D. 1560, the Bishop

* Biographia Britannica. Humfrey in Vita ejus. Fuller's Abel Redivivus.

preached at St. Paul's Cross his famous Sermon upon the 1 Cor. ii. v. 23. "*For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took Bread,*" &c. This Sermon gave a Fatal Blow to the Popish Religion in England*, which had before become odious to the Majority of

* The greatest deference was, (as may be collected from the preceding pages) on all occasions paid to Jewell's opinions, no wonder then, that he now enjoyed the admiration and respect of the Protestant Party; still, however, a better idea of the high estimation in which he was universally held, may perhaps be drawn more correctly from the encomiums bestowed upon him by his bitterest enemies. Nicholas Sanders, the Jesuit, in his well-known and elaborate treatise on the Schisms of the Church of England, and in a paragraph headed "the Hypocrisy and vain boasting of Jewell," is unwillingly compelled to acknowledge his extensive erudition, and the very high reputation he enjoyed amongst the Protestants, not of England alone, but of all Europe. Sanders however, as desirous of obliterating the favourable impression this notice might produce, after recording his address, and part of the celebrated challenge to all his adversaries which we have here inserted, declares without the slightest authority, that the Bishop's friends upon a reconsideration of the Subject, were indignant at his temerity, and openly condemned his rash proceedings, in stating circumstances which he could not fairly support, and unjustly

the Nation through the barbarous Excesses and Cruelties committed by those who professed that Doctrine, during the Reign of Queen Mary. The *Challenge* which the worthy Bishop then gave, and which he afterwards repeated at several different places in the following words, was the stinging part of the Sermon:—"If any Learned Man of our Adversaries, or all the Learned Men that be alive, be able to bring any one sufficient Sentence out of any Old Catholic Doctor, or Father, or General Council, or Holy Scripture, or any *one* Example in the Primitive Church, whereby it may clearly and plainly be proved during the first Six Hundred Years: I.—That there was at any time any private Masses in the World: II.—Or that there was then any Communion Ministered unto the People under one kind: III.—Or that the People had their Common Prayer in a strange Tongue which

accusing the Papists of upholding Systems and advocating Doctrines, which they never even contemplated.—*Nicolaus Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano*, page 337—9. Edit. Colon. Agrip. 1610.

they understood not : IV.—Or that the Bishop of ROME was then called an Universal Bishop, or the Head of the Universal Church : V.—Or that the People were then taught to believe that Christ's Body is really, substantially, corporally, carnally, or naturally in the Sacrament : VI.—Or that his Body is, or may be in a thousand places or more at one time : VII.—Or that the Priest did then hold up the Sacrament over his Head : VIII.—Or that the People did then fall down and worship it with Godly Honour : IX.—Or that the Sacrament was then, or now ought to be hanged up under a Canopy : X.—Or that in the Sacraments after the words of Consecration there remained only the Accidents and Shows without the substance of Bread and Wine : XI.—Or that the Priests divided the Sacrament into three parts, and afterwards received it themselves alone : XII.—Or that whosoever had said the Sacrament is a Figure, a Pledge, a Token, or a Remembrance of Christ's Body, had therefore been adjudged for an Heretic : XIII.—Or

that it was lawful then to have thirty, twenty, fifteen, ten, or five Masses said in the same Church in one day: XIV.—Or that Images were then set up in the Churches, to the intent the People might worship them: XV.—Or that the Lay-People were then forbidden to read the Word of God in their own Tongue: XVI.—Or that it was then Lawful for the Priest to pronounce the words of Consecration closely, or in private to himself: XVII.—Or that the Priest had the Authority to offer up Christ unto his Father: XVIII.—Or to Communicate and receive the Sacrament for another, as they do: XIX.—Or to apply the virtue of Christ's Death and Passion to any Man by means of the Mass: XX. Or that it was then thought a sound Doctrine to teach the People that Mass, *Ex opere operato* (that is, even for that it is said and done) is able to remove any part of our Sin: XXI.—Or that any Christian Man called the Sacrament of his Lord, his God: XXII.—Or that the People were then taught to believe, that

the Body of Christ remaineth in the Sacrament, as long as the Accidents of the Bread and Wine remain there without Corruption: XXIII.—Or that a Mouse, or any other Worm, or Beast may eat the body of Christ: (for so some of our Adversaries have said and taught:) XXIV.—Or that when Christ said *Hoc est Corpus Meum*, the word *Hoc* pointed not to the Bread, but to an *individuum vagum*, as some of them say: XXV.—Or that the Accidents, or Forms, or Shows of Bread and Wine be the Sacraments of Christ's Body and Blood, and not rather the very Bread and Wine itself: XXVI.—Or that the Sacrament is a Sign or token of the Body of Christ, that lieth hidden underneath it*: XXVII.—Or that Ignorance is the Mother and Cause of true Devotion. The conclusion is, that I shall then be content to yield and subscribe."

This Challenge, (says the Learned Dr.

* See the Apology, chap. ii., wherein this subject is fully discussed.

Heylyn,*) being thus publicly made before so great an Audience as was assembled on that occasion, startled the Papists both at home and abroad: but none more than such of the English Fugitives as had retired to Lovain, Douay, or St. Omers, in the Provinces in the Low-Country belonging to the King of Spain. The affair was first agitated by the exchange of friendly letters which passed between the Reverend Challenger and Dr. Henry Cole, the late Dean of St. Paul's: but it was more violently followed up by a Book† written by one Restal, a common Lawyer; who first appeared in the lists against Bishop Jewell. This man was followed by Dorman and Marshall, who severally attacked him, but to as little purpose as the former: the first being completely silenced by Nowell‡, Dean of St. Paul's, and the last by Calhill, in their Discourses against these men. These were only scintillations or preparatory Skirmishes

* Vide *Ecclesia Restaurata*. † Published A.D. 1563.

‡ Vide Churton's *Life of Nowell*.

in comparison with the main attack; to defend and defeat which was a task reserved for the Reverend Challenger himself. This attack was made by Dr. John Harding, one of the Divines of Lovain, and the most learned of the College. He was born in the same County, educated at the same Grammar School, and studied at the same University with Bishop Jewell:—Both zealous Protestants in the days of King Edward; both had relapsed into Popery in the days of Queen Mary: Jewell from a fear of death, aided by the tricks and machinations of his inveterate enemies; and Harding, from a hope of thereby obtaining favour and preferment. Bishop Jewell's fall may be compared to that of St. Peter, which was short and sudden, rising again by his Recantation and Sincere Repentance more strongly fortified in the true Faith than ever: but Harding's, like that of the other Simon, premeditated and resolved on; never to be restored again (so much was there

within him of the gall of bitterness) to his former belief. Some former differences had existed between them in the Church of Salisbury, of which the one was Prebendary*, and the other Bishop, occasioned by Jewell's visitation of that Cathedral. In these Harding had the worst: a presage of the complete defeat he met with in this more weighty controversy. For any one who consults their writings, cannot fail to discover the great superiority of Bishop Jewell, both in Literary Acquirements and Polemical Divinity: in addition to which, the coolness with which he conducted his Argument gave him the greatest advantage over Harding's gross violence. His learned Answers as well in maintaining his Challenge, as in defence of his APOLOGY (of which more hereafter) exhibit such profound Learning, that all our Controversialists since that time have furnished themselves with Arguments and Authority

* Harding was Prebend when Jewell was elected, and gave his vote for him.—*Humf. in Vita*, p. 140.

from them *. At the time of Queen Mary's death Paul the Fourth was Pope, to whom Queen Elizabeth sent an account of her accession to the Crown by Sir Edward Karn, her Sister's Resident at Rome: to which intimation the angry Pontiff replied:—"That England was held in Fee of the Apostolic See; that she should *not* succeed being illegitimate; nor could he contradict the Deliberations made in that Matter by his Predecessors CLEMENT the Seventh, and PAUL the Third. He added that it was a great boldness in her to assume the Crown without his consent; for which in reason she deserved no favour at his hands. Yet, if she would renounce her Pretensions and refer Herself wholly to him, he would show a fatherly affection to her, and do every thing for her, consistent with the dignity of the Apostolic See." This answer, hastily and passionately made, was little regarded by the Queen: and he dying soon after, Pius the

* Burnett's Hist. of Ref. Tom. 2.

Fourth, a man of far greater talent succeeded; who attempted to gain the Queen by art and kindness. To this end he sent Vincent Parapalia, Abbot of St. Saviour's, with courteous Letters to her, dated May the 5th, A. D. 1560; with orders privately to make large offers to her. But the Queen had previously rejected the Pope's Authority by Act of Parliament, and would therefore have nothing to do with Parapalia, nor even suffer him to land in England. In the interim, the Pontiff had resolved to renew the Council at Trent; and in the next year he sent the Abbot Martiningo, his Nuncio, to the Queen, to invite her and her Bishops to the Council; who accordingly came to Brussells, from whence he sent for leave to come into England. But though France and Spain interceded for his admission, the Queen firmly refused; and also rejected a motion from the Emperor Ferdinando, who entreated her to return to the Old Religion; as he called the Roman Superstition. After all those denials given to so

many and such potent Princes, one Scipio, a gentleman of Venice, who formerly had been acquainted with Bishop Jewell when a student in Padua, and had heard of Martinigo's bad success in his Negociation, exerted all his Eloquence to obtain that point by private Letters, which the Nuncio could not gain as a Public Minister: and to effect this, he wrote a Letter of Expostulation to his old friend who had not long before been preferred to the See of Salisbury. This did not long remain unanswered; for the Learned Prelate was too well informed of the nature of Councils, not to know how little of a General Council could be found at Trent *. He therefore returned an answer so elegantly penned, and so elaborately digested, that neither Scipio himself, nor any other of that Party durst reply to it.

In the following year was published the

* *Ecclesia Restaurata.*

APOLOGY FOR THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND *, in Latin: which, though written by him, was printed by the Queen's Authority, and with the advice of some of the Bishops, as the Public Confession of the Catholic and Christian Faith; as a summary of the Reasons which compelled us to depart from the See of Rome; and as an answer to those Calumnies which were then raised against the Church of England and the Nation at large for not submitting to the pretended General Council then sitting at Trent. So that it is not to be esteemed as a private work having the Authority of a *single* Bishop; but as a Public Declaration of the Tenets of that Church whose name it bears. † Strype thus relates the circumstances that gave rise to it: "In these proceedings in Religion it was also wisely foreseen by the Archbishop and his

* Vide Humf. in Vita, p. 177. Peter Martyr's Letter. And Camden's Annals, where he expressly states it to have been published, A. D. 1562.

† Strype's Life of Archbp. Parker, fol. 1711.

Colleagues, how the world would take them : and therefore it was thought necessary by them that some public Apology, or Manifesto should be set forth to vindicate the Church of England before all the world for her departure from the Bishop of Rome, and for her rejection of his pretended authority, and for the Reformation introduced in Religion. This work was it appears entrusted to Bishop Jewell : and he performed it in a short time to a wonder. The copy was sent to Secretary Cecil for his judgment, and the Queen's Approbation in the year 1561 ; and the next year it was published to the abundant establishment of the Reformed Church upon Antiquity, the Fathers and Councils, and the word of God.

Bishop Grindal first sent it over sea to Peter Martyr, then at Zurich. And he, with Bullinger and other divines there, read it with great pleasure and admiration."

Humfrey, in his Life of this celebrated Prelate, seems to confound this and the Epistle together, as if they had both been written at the same time, which it is apparent they were not. This APOLOGY, being published during the time of the very last meeting of the Council of Trent, was read there, and seriously considered; and great threats were made that it should be answered. Accordingly, two learned Bishops, one a Spaniard and the other an Italian, undertook the Task; but neither did any thing in it. In the meantime the Book spread in all the countries in Europe, and was much applauded in Germany, Flanders, Spain, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, Sweden, and Scotland; and was at last countenanced in Naples, and even Rome itself. So great was the esteem in which it was held abroad, that it was soon after translated into German, Italian, French, Spanish, Dutch: Nor was it less admired at home, being shortly after translated into

Greek, at Oxford * ; and also into English † by Lady Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal ‡. Humfrey in defining its peculiar characteristics says ;—" It is so drawn that the first part of it is an illustration, and, as it were, a Paraphrase of the Twelve first Articles of the Christian Faith (or Creed) : the second is a short and solid Refutation of whatever is objected against the Church. If the Order be considered, nothing can be better distributed ; if the Perspicuity, nothing can be clearer ; if the Style, nothing more terse ; if the Words, nothing more splendid ; if the Argument, nothing stronger §."

The anxiety of this celebrated and worthy Divine that his work should merit such Eulogies as the above, (and which indeed were

* 1614—8vo.

† Kyffin translated it into the Welsh Language, 1571.

‡ English Life prefixed to his Works, 1609. Humf. in Vita, p. 234.

§ Humf. in Vita, p. 187.

by no means sparingly bestowed,) may be gathered from the following Anecdote recorded by Churton*:—" I beseeche your grace (says Jewell, in a letter to Archbishop Parker) to geeve strait order that the Latine *Apologie* be not printed againe in any case, before either your grace, or somme other have wel perused it. I am afraide of Printers: their tyrannie is terrible †."

Bishop Jewell was greatly encouraged to publish this *Apology* by Peter Martyr ‡, with whom he had previously resided: but Martyr only lived to see and publish the admiration in which he held the Book he so much longed for: he dying § at Zurich the 12th of the following November.

In the year 1564, Harding published what

* Vide His Life of Dean Nowell.

† May 3rd, A. D. 1566. MS. Parker. Coll. Corp. C. Coll. cxiv. p. 457.

‡ Vide His Letters to Jewell, dated August 24th, A. D. 1562, and Heylyn's *Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 328.

§ A. D. 1562. Æt. 63.

he termed an Answer to Bishop Jewell's Famous *Challenge* at St. Paul's Cross; to which the Bishop made a very learned Reply in the following year: the Epistle preceding which is dated October 27th. At this time the University of Oxford conferred on him the Degree of Doctor *in* Divinity: and certainly, it is added, he well deserved to have that extraordinary Respect and Honour shown him, who was so eminently employed in the Service and Defence of the Church. No sooner did the Bishop's Reply spread abroad, than Harding was again upon him, and published, A. D. 1567, an Answer to the *Apology for the Church of England*. A Defence of which Bishop Jewell immediately began, and finished, as appears by the Epistle at the End addressed to Harding, October 27th, 1567.

Whilst the Bishop was employed in preparing this incomparable Work, he appears to have taken a most active part in the Con-

troversy respecting Popish Vestments, which at this period engaged the attention of the Reformed Divines. On this point, as well as on the question of Images, he had to contend with the most powerful Adversaries. The Queen herself thought this Doctrine not contrary to the word of God; and, according to Burnett, deemed it expedient to have a Crucifix, with the blessed Virgin, and St. John still in her Chapel. In the voluminous correspondence of Jewell with the foreign Reformers, Peter Martyr, Gualter, Bullinger, and others, he fully enters upon this subject: and, in a letter to Bullinger, dated February 8th, A. D. 1566, expresses his great concern that the heat raised on account of the Surplice was not extinguished: and in another he assures Simler there was no danger of Lutheranism; only, he adds, we are now fighting among ourselves about Ceremonies, Vestments, and matters of no importance*.

* Burnett, Vol. iii. Folio.

The following year Harding produced another piece, entitled—*A Detection of Sundry foul Errors, &c.*, which proved to be a mere cavilling reply to some passages in Bishop Jewell's Defence of his APOLOGY. This Publication by Harding the Bishop did not esteem worthy of a separate reply; he therefore answered it in the Preface to a New Edition of his former Defence, which he finished December 11th, A. D. 1569: and although Harding had before told the world that the Queen was greatly offended with the pious Bishop for troubling her as he had done with his Writings, this Edition of them was dedicated to her Majesty*.

The same year Pope Pius, the Fourth, published a Bull of Excommunication and Deprivation against Queen Elizabeth, and Bishop Jewell, undertaking the defence of his Sove-

† It was by the command of Queen Elizabeth, James the First, &c., that the Apology for the Church of England was kept chained in all Churches, throughout the kingdom.

reign, wrote a learned Examination and Confutation of it, which was published by John Garbrand, an intimate acquaintance of the Bishop's, together with a short Treatise on the Holy Scriptures; both of which were publicly delivered by him in his Cathedral, A. D. 1570. Besides these, he wrote many other works*, which were principally delivered as Exhortations and Expositions: which, I suppose (says Humfrey,†) were his Sermons: for he was of opinion that it was a better way of teaching to go through with a Book, than to take here and there a Text; and that it gave the People a more clear and lasting Knowledge.

In the beginning of the next year (April 5th, A. D. 1571,) there was a Parliament, and consequently a Convocation; when Thos. Cartwright, and others of that Faction, having alarmed the Church by their opposition

* The Enumeration of them at the end of the Life.

† Humf. in Vita, p. 111.

to the established Religion, it was thought fit to obviate their bold attempts; the Archbishop therefore commanded; “ That all such of the Lower House of Convocation, who had not formerly subscribed to the Articles of Religion agreed on A. D. 1562, should subscribe to them now; or, on their absolute refusal or delay, be expelled the House.” This order occasioned a general and personal subscription. It was also further ordered; “ That the Book of Articles so approved should be put into print by the appointment of the Right Reverend Dr. John Jewell, then Bishop of Sarum: which shows that he was present, and held in great esteem. It was also during this year that he had his Conference, and preached his *Last* Sermon at Paul’s Cross about the Ceremonies and State of the Church: and although this Holy Divine sought nothing but the Peace and Welfare of the Church by the most Mild and Conciliating Admonitions, the Dissenters treated him with as little respect

as Harding and his Confraternity had done: for Archbishop Whitgift assures us; “ They (the Dissenters) will not stick in commending themselves to deface all others; yea, even that notable JEWELL, whose both Labour and Learning they do envy, and amongst themselves deprave; as I have heard with mine own ears, and a number more besides.

“For further proof whereof I do refer you to the report that by this Faction spread of him after his last Sermon at Paul’s Cross; because he did confirm the Doctrine before preached by a famous and learned Man touching Obedience to the Prince and the Laws. It was strange to me (continues Whitgift) to hear so notable a Bishop, so learned a Man, so stout a Champion of true Religion, so painful a Prelate, so ungratefully and spitefully used by a sort of wavering, wicked, and wretched Tongues: but it is their manner, be ye never so well learned, never so painful, so zealous, so virtuous, all

is nothing with them; but they will deprave you, and spread false rumours, as though you were the vilest person upon earth."

Dr. Humfrey, his biographer, who appears to have been himself a Calvinist *, has taken infinite pains to represent Bishop Jewell as favourable to the English Dissenters: but it is certain he opposed them during his Exile; particularly when they began their dissensions at Frankfort: and one of the last Acts of his life was to reprimand them severely, and also to defend the Rites of the Church against them in a Sermon preached at Paul's Cross †; which it will be seen he again noticed on his death-bed. To this may be added his opinion, that the Contentions amongst the Reformers were kindled and fomented by the Popish Party. The truth seems to be, the Schism was then in its rise;

* Camden's Annals.

† Fuller's Edition of his Works. Last Sermon. London, 1609.

and those great *Impostors*, Coleman, Button, and Hallingham, were nothing but Popish Priests disguised as Puritan Preachers, and were severely punished for their temerity in the year 1568*. No great stir was made by this Party till the Thirteenth year of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, (April 2nd, A. D. 1570,) when the Articles of the Church of England were confirmed by Act of Parliament, and Subscriptions enforced. Then it was that many Dissenters began to hold Secret Meetings in Woods, Fields, and private Houses†. Those Disorders probably occasioned the Sermon at Paul's Cross and the Conference at London, which happened not long before his death, and soon after this Session of Parliament; which he survived but six months. If the Bishop did rarely and unwillingly preach any thing concerning the Rites

* Preface to first Volume of a Collection of Tracts. By Dr. Halsom.

† Fuller's Church Hist. lib. 9. Sec. 3. p. 3. Cartwright's Second Reply, p. 38.

and other Ordinances of the Reformed Church, it was because he had few opportunities given him: but what he thought of those men will appear from the following words extracted from the before-named Sermon:—"By whose name shall I call you? I would I might call you Brethren; But alas, this heart of yours is not Brotherly. I would I might call you Christians; But alas, you are no Christians. I know not by what name I shall call you: For if you were Brethren, you would love as Brethren: If you were Christians, you would agree as Christians." It was impossible he could entertain a good opinion of those whom he every where in his Sermon styles *proud, self-conceited, disobedient, and unquiet men*, who did *not* deserve the title of either *Brethren or Christians*. Besides confuting some of the Seditious Doctrines of Thomas Cartwright, the Dissenter, who rendered himself notorious by his "*Admonition* *" to the Par-

* This paper, which was written by the Bishop against certain frivolous objections made against the Government of

liament; in the following year, the Bishop said of them—*Stultitia nata est in corde pueri, et virga disciplinæ fugabit illam* †. These things show that he was no encourager of Faction by lenity and toleration; though he was a man of great moderation, and made every possible allowance for the frailty of human nature. This the following extract from a Letter to Dr. Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, written in answer to one from that Prelate complaining of the conduct of his Chancellor, seems to confirm; “ Let your Chancellor (says he) be harder; but you easier: let him wound; but do you heal: let him Lance; do you Plaister. Wise Clemency will do more good than rigid severity: one man may move more with an Engine, than six with the force of their hands.”

Bishop Jewell was not only careful to pre-
the Church of England, (see Archbishop Whitgift's Answer), was printed at London, 1641.

† Prov. xxii. 15.

serve the Primitive Doctrines of the Christian Faith; but he was also careful to preserve the Revenues of the Church, in an Age, when the greatest men, finding the Queen not very liberal in rewarding either her Courtiers or Servants for any services they had performed for the Crown, made no scruple of paying themselves out of the Patrimony of the Church; by which means some of the Bishoprics were entirely ruined, and others left so poor as scarcely to afford maintenance for a Prelate. In restraining this practice it is said, that the Bishop cared not whom he offended: an assertion which the following anecdote seems fully to warrant. A Courtier, who was a Layman, having obtained a Prebendal stall in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, which he intended to let to another Layman for his Advantage, informed Bishop Jewell of the Conditions between them; and of the opinion of some Lawyers whom he had consulted on the subject: to which, when he had ended his communi-

cation, the Bishop made the following reply:—" *What your Lawyers may answer I know not ; but for my part, where my Power will prevent it, I will take care that my Church shall sustain no loss whilst I live.*"

The interest he took in the welfare of the Church generally appears from a Sermon he preached from *Psalm lxi. 9*: *The Zeal of thine House hath eaten me up* ; which he delivered before the Queen and her Court. He observed ; " In other Countries the receiving of the Gospel hath always been the cause of Learning being more valued : and Learning hath ever been the furtherance of the Gospel. In ENGLAND I know not how it cometh otherwise to pass ; for since the Gospel hath been received, the maintenance for Learning hath been decayed ; and the lack of Learning will be the decay of the Gospel." In another part he continues ; " Those that should be fosterers of Learning, and increase the Livings had no zeal. Nay, the Livings and Provisions which were heretofore given to

this use are taken away.” Afterwards he adds; “Whereas all other Labourers and Artificers have their hire increased double, as much as it was wont to be; only the poor man that laboureth and sweateth in the Vineyard of the Lord of Hosts hath his hire abridged and abated.” And addressing himself to the Great Men, he concluded; “You enriched them who mocked, blinded, and devoured you; spoil not them now who feed, instruct, and comfort you.” He seems here to have foreseen the ruin which overwhelmed the Reformed Church as well as the Monarchy, A. D. 1640, in which many of those Families whose Ancestors had enriched themselves with the Spoils of the Church were ruined. And such was the poverty of the Clergy at this period, caused by the alienation of Church Lands, and other property, that in many of the Market Towns people were obliged to pay preachers out of their own pockets.

He ever governed his own Diocese with the greatest possible diligence and anxiety for the prosperity of the Reformed Church, and the happiness of all who looked up to him for instruction in divine knowledge; and when he perceived his Death approaching*, he undertook a new and more severe Visitation of it: correcting and reproving the Vices of the Clergy and Laity more sharply than he had hitherto done; enjoining them in some cases a portion of Holy Tracts to be learned by heart, conferring Orders more carefully, and himself preaching

* “ God himself (says old Fuller in his quaint style) I rather believe gives his Saints sometimes warning to put their house in order before they are to leave it, either by visions in the night, as he forewarned Cyprian and Bradford of their Martyrdome; the one by fire, the other by the sword; or els by supernaturall illumination, as it seems hee assured Bishop Ridley, who crossing the Thames, when on a sudden at the arising of the Tempest, all were astonished, looking for nothing but to be drowned: ‘ Take heart,’ saith he, ‘ for this boat carrieth a Bishop that must be burnt, and not drowned.’ And Jewell long before his sicknesse foretold the approaching, and in his sicknesse, the precise day of his death.”—*Fuller’s Life of Jewell prefixed to his Works.* fol. Ed. London. 1609.

oftener *. And by these increasing labours and watchful cares he reduced his feeble Body to so low a state, that as he rode to preach at Lacock, in Wiltshire, which he had promised to do, a gentleman in a very friendly and very pressing manner admonished him to return home for the sake of his health, saying; ‘ That such straining his Body in riding and preaching, being so exceedingly weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his Life ; assuring him, that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such a Preacher.’ To

* Hee governed with wonderfull care and vigilancy, not onely feeding the soules of his people, but also at all times distributing food to the bodies of the poore and distressed.—*Lupton’s Lives of the Modern Protestant Divines*, p. 260. Lond. 1637.

Bishop Jewell in his Diocese of Sarum shined most brightly for eleven years, and after his extinction by death left a most sweet smell behind him, the savour of a good name, much more precious than oyntment, for his Apostolick doctrine and Saint-like life, and prudent government, and incorrupt integrity, unspotted chastity, and bountiful hospitality, so that many were brought to have a reverend opinion of Bishops for Jewell’s sake.—*Abel Redivivus*, p. 306.

whom he replied; “ It becometh best a Bishop to die preaching in the Pulpit:” Alluding perhaps to the Apophthegm of Vespasian, “ *Oportet imperatorem stantem mori** :” and seriously thinking upon the comfortable Assurance of his master, *Happy art thou my servant, if when I come I find thee doing.* Wherefore, that he might not deceive the People’s expectation, he ascended the Pulpit; and now nothing but spirit (his flesh being pined away and exhausted) read his Text out of the fifth of Galatians, “ *Walk in the Spirit,*” and with much pain made an end of his discourse. Presently after the conclusion, his disease grew more violent; forced him to take to his bed, and to conclude that his dissolution was not far off. In the beginning of his extreme fits he made his Will, considering therein his brother, I. Jewell, and his friends with some kind remembrances; bestowing the rest with his accustomed liberality on his Servants, Scholars,

* *Suet. in Vesp.*

and the Poor of Sarum*. The following Saturday, (nature with all her force being no longer able to contend with the disease,) shrinking and failing, he called all his household about him, and after an Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, *Cantator cygnus funeris ipse sui*—thus breathed forth his last words:—

“I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feele the arrowes of death already fastened in my body; wherefore I am desirous in few words whilst yet my most Mercifull God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue to speake unto you all. It was my prayer alwayes unto Almighty God since I had my understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirme his trueth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof; which seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoyce and solace myselfe

* Lupton's Hist. of Modern Protestant Divines, p. 264. Lond. 1637.

that it is worne away and exhausted in the labours of my Calling. For while I visit the People of God, God, my God, hath visited me. With Mr. HARDING, who provoked me first, I have contended in my writings, not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor to patronize any error to my Knowledge, nor to gaine the vaine applause of the world; but according to my poor abilitie to do my best service to God and his Church. My last Sermon at Paul's Crosse, and conference about the Ceremonies and state of our Church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren who are of a contrarie opinion; but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech Almighty God, of his infinite Mercy, to convert or confound the head of all these evils and ringleader of all rebellions, discords, and schisms, the B. of Rome; who, wheresoever

he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contentions. I beseech Him also long to preserve the Queene's Majestie, to direct and protect her Counsell, to maintaine and increase godly Pastours, and to grant to his whole Church unity and godly peace. Also I beseech you all that are about me, and all others whom I ever offended to forgive me And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last dutie of love, to pray for me, and helpe me with the ardencie of your affection, when you perceive me through the infirmitie of my flesh to languish and waxe cold in my Prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many others; now the time is come wherein I may, and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you." Having thus spoken, with something more to the like purpose, with much pain and interruption, he desired them to sing the Seventy-first Psalm, which begins thus; "*In thee O Lord I put my trust, let me never be confounded,*" him-

self joining with them as well as his exhausted strength would permit: and when they recited those words; Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth, he added, ‘*Thou only wast my whole hope.*’ and as they went forward, saying, Cast me not off in the time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age and grey head forsake me not, O God: he made this application to himself; ‘*He is an old man, he is truly grey headed, and his strength faileth him who lieth on his death-bed.*’ To which he added other short prayers, as if he were moved thereto by the power of God’s Spirit, saying; “*Lord take from me my Spirit; Lord now let thy servant depart in peace: Breake off all delayes; Suffer thy servant to come unto thee; Command him to be with thee: Lord receive my Spirit.*”

At this time, when one of those who stood by prayed with tears, that if it might stand

with God's pleasure) he would restore him to his former health : the pious Jewell overhearing him turned his eyes as it were offended, and spoke to him those words of St. Ambrose ; *‘ I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live longer ; neither doe I feare to die, because we have a mercifull Lord. A crowne of righteousnesse is layd up for me. Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done ; Thy will, I say, and not my will ; which is imperfect and depraved. Lord confound me not. This is my To-day. This day quickly let me come unto thee. This day let me see the Lord Jesus.’*—“ With these words (adds this writer) the doore was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more, the golden ewer was crackt, and the pitcher broken at the well : yet the Keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windowes, though darke, yet were fixed towards Heaven ; till after a few fervent

inward praiers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soule returned to God that gave it. M. RIDLEY the Steward of his house shut his eies in the yeere of our Lord 1571, September the 22nd, about three of the clocke in the afternoone, Ann. Æt. almost 50. Such was the Life and Death of Bishop Jewell; a most worthy trumpet of Christ's Glorious Gospell. What now remaines, but that we mournfully complain in the words of St. Jerom concerning the death of Fabiola; *Pretiosissimum de locis sanctis monile perdidimus**: *The spouse of Christ hath lost a precious Jewel.* Or rather, because he shined so bright in divine virtues both in his life and death, we are to rejoyce for his happie translation. This *Jewel* is not lost, which Christ hath taken from off the ring of his spouse which is his Church, and set it in a Crowne of purest Golde upon her head, which is himselfe, the Saviour of his elect, where hee shineth in glorie for evermore. Lord adorne and

* Hieron. Epist. Fabiol.

inrich thy Church continually with such *Jewels*; decke her cheek with rowes of such rubies, and her necke with chains; make her borders of golde, with studs of silver*. Amen†.”

Thus terminated, at his Palace at Monkton in Wiltshire, in the 12th year of his consecration, the Earthly career of this great and pious Bishop, whose death may be said to have been universally mourned; but no one was more afflicted at the early departure of so pure a Spirit than Archbishop Parker. Dr. Laurence Humfrey, Regius Professor of Divinity of the University of Oxford and President of Magdelene College was requested to preach at his funeral: but this happening to be during the period that the Plague raged at Oxford, Humfrey had sought safety elsewhere; so that the bearer was unable to deliver his message. Giles Lau-

* Cant. 1. 9. 10.

† The Life of Bishop Jewell, prefixed to his Works, p. 10, A. D. 1609.

rence however, another learned man, undertook the office: and in the afternoon preached Mr. Holcot, a gentleman of good quality, who did not live of the Church but of his own Estate; and who taught the Gospel gratis: probably he was in Orders. His loss was greatly lamented abroad, where he had formerly resided; and his Learning and Zeal, previously even to the publication of his Works, had been both known and appreciated. Gualter, that great Light of Zurich, lamenting his death in an Epistle to certain English Bishops, thus wrote of him;—"That they esteemed it a wound not given to England alone but to the whole Church of Christ, of which he was a notable Luminary. That now his blessed Spirit lived with the Lord Christ, to whose Service he had wholly consecrated himself: and here on Earth he left a dear want of him, and an Immortal Reputation to his Name*."

* Lupton's *Life of the Modern Protestant Divines*, p. 264. Lond. 1637. Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, Lib. 4. Cap. 5. p. 317.

Dr. Laurence Humfrey, at the request of the two Venerable Prelates, Archbishop Parker and the Bishop of London, undertook to write the Life of Bishop Jewell in Latin, which he finished and published, A. D. 1573. At the end of which is printed many Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, and other verses, written in commendation of the Bishop by the most pious and eminent men of the age*.

Having thus brought the History of this celebrated Man down to the period when, to the regret of all good men and even many of his enemies, his ashes were laid in the bosom of his Mother Earth ; we will now proceed to recount some anecdotes and characteristics necessary to be known : that the reader may form a just estimate of the mind and talents of this great and unrivalled Original. It is recorded of his memory, which was wonderful and naturally

* Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker, Lib. 4. Cap. 5. p. 317.

strong, that he very much improved it by art: indeed he seldom forgot any thing remarkable which he heard, and generally entered it in a Common-place Book. He could exactly repeat whatever he had written, after reading it once. During the ringing of the bell he would commit to memory a repetition Sermon, and pronounce it without hesitation. His custom was to write the heads of his discourses, and imprint them so firmly on his mind, that he used to say; "If ten thousand people were quarrelling or fighting all the while he was preaching, yet they could not put him out." In order to try him Dr. Parkhurst having proposed to him some of the most difficult and barbarous words out of a Calendar, and John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, forty Welsh, Irish, and foreign words, he, after once or twice reading, and a little recollection, repeated them all by heart backward and forward. Also, A. D. 1563, Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, having read to him out of

Erasmus's Paraphrase the last clauses of ten lines confused, and imperfect on purpose, he, sitting silent awhile, and covering his face with his hand, immediately rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences the right way, and the contrary, without hesitation. This art he professed to teach others, and actually taught it to Dr. Parkhurst when at Zurich; who, in the space of twenty-eight days, and only by spending an hour a day upon it, learned all the twenty-eight chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel so perfectly that he could repeat any verse: knowing at the same time what went before and what followed*.

Jewell's custom of noting down in Common-place Books, and keeping Diaries of whatever he thought he might afterwards have occasion to use; ("which" says one of his Biographers "were many in number, and great in quantity, being a vast Treasure of Learning, and a

* Humfr. in Vita, p. 234. T. Fuller's Life of Jewell, prefixed to his Works. London, 1609.

rich Repository of Knowledge, into which he had collected Sacred, Profane, Poetic, Philosophic, and Divine Notes of all sorts; and all these he again reduced into a small piece or two, which were a kind of General Index, that he made use of at all times when he was to speak or write any thing; but which were drawn up in Characters for brevity, and thereby so obscured that they were of no use after his Death to any other person;”) was a great proof of his indefatigable industry and extensive research after Truth. These Memoranda he always perused once every year, and out of them he extracted whatever he thought was most remarkable or useful. Hence it arose, that when Harding in his Controversy with Bishop Jewell abounded in Words only, that his Opponent, whose reading was more profound, overwhelmed him with a host of Witnesses and Citations out of the Ancient Fathers, Councils, and Church Historians: confirming every thing with so great a Number of incontestable Authorities,

that Harding durst never after venture a Second perfect and full Answer, but contented himself with making trifling and illiberal attacks, unworthy of a man who laid any claim to the credit of being esteemed either candid or learned*. Bishop Jewell however was so careful in the use of his own Memoranda, lest any error should have crept into it, that when he wrote the *Defence* of the *Apology* and *Reply* he would not trust entirely to his own Transcripts; but first carefully read the Books which had issued from the pen of Harding, and marked therein what he thought worthy of an Answer: he next drew up the heads of his intended Answer, and fixed on what Authorities he would make use of on each Head: and then, with the assistance of his Common-place Book marked all the Passages which he employed his Scholars to transcribe under their proper heads, that he might have them at large under his own eye when he came to write. Such Diligence

* Ecclesia Restaurata.

and Care proclaims at once the Industry, Fidelity, and Modesty of this Worthy Prelate; and is a just reprehension of those who negligently take upon trust and record false Citations from the pens of other men, without carefully extracting them from their Original Sources: a practice by which great mistakes have been made, and Controversies have sprung up; much to the annoyance of the World*.

His Knowledge in Languages was very extensive, being an excellent Greek Scholar†, and well acquainted with the Italian Tongue. As to the Latin, he both wrote and spoke it with such perfect elegance, fluency, and purity, that it might almost have been mistaken for his mother tongue: and the means he took to acquire this profound knowledge of

* The Epistle Dedicatory before some of his Sermons. Printed by Mr. John Garbrand, A. D. 1583, 8vo.

† When Lady Bacon translated his Apology, she wrote a Letter to Bishop Jewell in Greek, which he answered in the same language. See the Enumeration of his Works.

so universal and useful a language may not be unworthy the particular attention of our readers. In his youth he made himself perfect Master of Horace, on whose works he at that early period wrote a Commentary. He afterwards studied diligently the excellent and voluminous Writings of Cicero and Erasmus: every day of his life reading, transcribing, and imitating them, especially during his residence at Oxford; where he accustomed himself to declaim in Latin, *Extempore*, during his solitary walks in the Woods and Groves.

He was also well read in all the Greek Poets, Orators, and Historians; especially those who had written on Ecclesiastical affairs: and above all others his favourite author was Gregory Nazianzen, whose Writings he quoted on every occasion.

These acquirements he improved during his residence at Frankfort, Strasburg, and Zurich; as much by diligent research and

application as by Conversation with Peter Martyr and other learned Men.

He was, as has been before observed, a most laborious Preacher, and faithful Attendant on his Clerical Duties; frequently travelling through his Diocese and preaching wherever he came. He always endeavoured to adapt his Discourse to the understanding of his Audience, despising all high-sounding phraseology, as beneath the Dignity of the Sacred Place: nevertheless, he was careful in the Choice of his Words, and endeavoured to move the Affections of his Auditory by pathetic and zealous Applications; avoiding all light Expressions, and using a grave and sedate, rather than a sweet way of speaking: never venturing, in the presence of the humblest Audience, to preach *Extempore* *!

* Though Bishop Jewell was a constant preacher, yet he never attempted to do it *Extempore*, and without due preparation.—*Abel Redivivus*. Lupton's *Lives of the Modern Protestant Divines*, 1637.

He was naturally grave, and so perfect in Probity and Virtue, that his bitterest enemies* were obliged to confess that he lived the Life of an Angel; being himself contented in every station and endeavouring to make others equally so. Yet withal, he was of an extremely agreeable and obliging humour, never valuing himself upon his superior attainments. This natural generosity, though he came to a Bishopric miserably impoverished and wasted in its Revenues, was exercised to an almost unlimited extent both in gifts and hospitality. He no sooner came to reside at Salisbury than he built a Splendid Library† for his

* Moren, Dean of his College and an Adversary of his Religion, said—"I should love thee, Jewell, if thou wert not a *Zwinglian*. In thy Faith I hold thee a Heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an Angell. Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran." This reminds us of the Pagan's assertion—" *Bonus vir Caius sciens, sed malus tantum quod Christianus.*"—*Tertull. Apol. adversus Gentes.*

† "Dr. Humfrey (says Fuller) in making this monument (his Life) to continue the memory of Jewell, eternized his own; but Jewell himself a second Monument more famous

Cathedral Church; which Dr. Gheast afterwards furnished with many books, and whose name, together with that of the learned founder, is perpetuated in the following Latin inscription; “*Hæc Bibliotheca extructa est sumptibus. R. P. ac D. D. JOHANNIS JEWELLI, quondam Sarum Episcopi; instructa vero libris à R. in Christo P. D. Edmundo Gheast, olim ejusdem Ecclesiæ Episcopo, quorum memoria in Benedictione erit A. D. 1578.*”

Of so charitable a nature was this great and pious man that his Doors were always open to the Poor; and he would frequently send relief to the Prisons for such as stood in need of it. Nor did he confine his liberality to the unfortunate of his own Country; for he was very bountiful to Foreigners, especially those of Zuric and the Friends of

than that, the Library he built in Salisbury; and yet a third more lasting than either of the former, his Works.”—*Abel Redivivus*, 311.

Peter Martyr. Perceiving the great want of Learned Men in those times he took care to have six poor lads constantly in his House, whom he educated under his own eye, carefully directing them in the pursuit of their Studies: and he took no small delight in hearing them dispute on points of Critical and Grammatical Knowledge in the Dead Languages at his Table during their Meals; often setting them right, or enlarging their views on the subject in question. Besides these, he maintained several young Students in the University, allowing them yearly Pensions; and whenever they came to visit him, he rarely dismissed them without liberal Gratuities. Amongst this number was the celebrated Richard Hooker, his countryman, whose Parents being poor, must have been bound Apprentice to a Trade but for the liberality of the good Bishop, who allowed a yearly Pension towards his maintenance seven years before he was old enough to commence residence at the Uni-

versity; and in the year 1567, appointed him to remove to Oxford, and there to attend Dr. Cole, the President of Corpus Christi College. Dr. Cole, agreeably to a Promise made to the Bishop, provided a Tutor for him, and a Clerk's place in that College; which, with a Contribution from his Uncle, Mr. John Hooker, and the Pension allowed him by the Bishop, afforded him a comfortable subsistence.

“ During the last year of Bishop Jewell's Life Mr. Hooker was attacked with a dangerous sickness which lasted two months; all which time his mother, having notice of it, did in her hourly Prayers as earnestly beg his Life of God, as the Mother of St. Augustine did that he might become a true Christian: and their Prayers were both so heard as to be granted: which Mr. Hooker would often mention with much joy, and pray that he might never live to occasion sorrow to so good a Mother; whom, he would often say,

he loved so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good, even as much for her sake as for his own. As soon as he was perfectly recovered from his sickness, he took a journey from Oxford to Exeter to satisfy and see his good Mother, being accompanied with a countryman and companion of his own College; both on foot: which was either more in fashion, or want of money, or their humility made it so: but on foot they went, and took Salisbury in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. Hooker and his companion dine at his own table; which Mr. Hooker boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his mother's friends: and at the Bishop's parting with him, the Bishop gave him good Counsel, and his benediction, but forgot to give him money: which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a servant in all haste to call Richard back to him: and at Richard's return, the Bishop said to him; 'Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried

me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease.' And presently delivered into his hand a walking staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of Germany. And he said; 'Richard, I do not give, but lend you my horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my horse back to me on your return this way to Oxford. And I do now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter: and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother; and tell her, I send her a Bishop's benediction with it; and beg the continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to your College: and so God bless you, good Richard.' And this you may believe was performed by both parties. But, alas! the next news that followed Mr. Hooker to Oxford was, that his learned and Charitable Patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died in

devout meditation and prayer: and in both so zealously, that it became a religious question, whether his last ejaculations, or his soul did first enter into Heaven? Mr. Hooker now became a man of sorrow and fear: of sorrow for the loss of so dear and comfortable a Patron; and of fear for his future subsistence*.” But not only was the loss of the Bishop in some degree softened by the Patronage of his Tutor, Mr. Cole; but before he died the Bishop himself had so effectually recommended Mr. Hooker to Edwin Sandys, then Bishop of London, and afterwards Archbishop of York, that about a year after he made him Tutor to his son, and was otherwise extremely liberal to him.

As Bishop Jewell, his old Patron, foiled the Papists†; so Mr. Hooker, by his *Ecclesiastical*

* Hooker's Life, by Isaac Walton, Ecclesiastical Polity, Vol. i. p. 13. London. 1821.

† He soon found, that the opposers of the Church were in general persons of squeamish stomachs, who strained at a Gnat and swallowed a Camel.—*Neal's History of the Puritans.*

Polity, gave the Dissenters such a fatal defeat, as they never did, nor ever will be able to overcome. Nor was Mr. Hooker ungrateful to the memory of his former Benefactor; but having occasion in his writings to mention the Bishop, he calls him; “ *The worthiest Divine that Christendom hath bred for the space of some hundreds of years.*”

Jewell was so extremely grateful to all who had done him any good offices, that when he could not express his obligation to Mr. Bowin, his former School-Master, for the attention he had received from that gentleman in his early thirst after Knowledge, he lost no opportunity of paying it to his Name, and benefited all who were so called, though in nowise related to him. And such was the benevolence of this Prelate's heart, that he maintained a plentiful but sober Table, at which the humble as well as the rich, Foreigners as well as Englishmen, were equally well received: and though he

eat but little himself, he took especial care that his guests should be well supplied: entertaining them the while with agreeable and useful recitals, and telling and hearing any innocent and diverting stories: for although he was a Man of great and exact Piety and Virtue, he was not of a sullen, morose, or unsociable temper, but as anxious to dispense as to receive gratification.

He had collected an excellent Library of all sorts of Books, not even omitting the most impertinent of the Popish Writers: and in the midst of these was spent the greatest and what he considered the best part of his time; seldom appearing abroad, especially in the Morning, till eight o'clock, before which time it was not easy to speak with him. He then took a slight repast, and again, if no business engrossed his attention, retired to his Study, where he remained till dinner: after which meal, if any Causes came in, it was his Custom to hear them, and despatch

any other Business which concerned him : often, even during dinner, Answering Questions, and Arbitrating and Composing Differences amongst the People : who well knowing his Wisdom and Integrity, readily referred their causes to him from whom they were confident of having speedy and impartial justice, without being subject to the delays and expensive processes of Courts of Law. He would often sit in his own Consistory with his Chancellor, hearing, considering, and sometimes determining causes concerning Marriages, Wills, and other Ecclesiastical matters ; not thinking it correct to intrust all to the fidelity of his Officers. But though as a Justice of the Peace he often was present in the Civil Courts of Law ; yet he rarely interposed, unless his judgment were desired on any point involving a Religious question, or some such like difficulty. So careful was he not to entangle himself with Secular Affairs ; and yet at the same time not to be deficient in the performance of his Duty.

This Inscription, together with the arms of his family, was engraved on his Monument :—

D.

JOHANNI JEWELLO ANGLO DEVONIENSI EX
 ANTIQUA JUELLORUM FAMILIA BUDENÆ ORI-
 UNDO, ACADEMIÆ OXONIENSIS LAUDATIS-
 SIMO ALUMNO : MARIANA TEMPESTATE GER-
 MANIAM EXULI, PRÆSULI REGNANTE ELIZA-
 BETHA REGINA SARISBURIENSIS DIOCCESEOS
 (CUI PER ANNOS XI. MENSES IX. SUMMA
 FIDE ET INTEGRITATE PRÆFUIT.) RELIGIOSIS-
 SIMO : IMMATURO FATO MONKTON—FARLEÆ
 PRÆREPTO XXIII. SEPT. ANNO SALUTIS
 HUMANÆ CHRISTI MERITO RESTITUTÆ 1571,
 ET ÆTATIS SUÆ 49. POSITUM EST OBSER-
 VANTIÆ ERGO HOC MONUMENTUM.

The following is the entire Epitaph as originally composed by his Biographer, the learned Dr. Laurence Humfrey; but which, from the smallness of the Monumental Tablet, could not be inscribed thereon :—

D.

*Johanni Juello Anglo, Devonienſi
Ex antiqua Juellorum Familia Budenæ oriundo,
Academiæ Oxoniensis Laudatiſſimo Alumno:
Mariana Tempeſtate per Germaniam Exuli.*

Præſuli,

*Regnante Elizabetha Regina,
Sarisburyienſis Diocæſeos.*

*(Cui per Annos XI. Menſes IX. Summa fide
et integritate præfuit.)*

*Religioſiſſimo, viro ſingulari eruditione,
Ingenio Acutiſſimo, judicio graviſſimo,
Pietate, Humanitate egregie*

Prædito,

Theologiæ cum primis cognitione

Inſtructiſſimo;

Gemmæ Gemmarum

*Immature fato Monkton—farleæ Prærepto,
Sarisburyiæ Sepulto.*

Cælorum civi.

Larentius Humfredus

[Hoc Monumentum obſervantiæ ergo

Et Benevolentiæ Conſecravit,

Anno ſalutis Humanæ

Chriſti Merito Reſtitutæ

MDLXXIII. ix. Kal. Oct.

Vixit Annos XLIX. Menſes IV.

Pſal. 112.

In memoria æterna erit Juſtus.

Thus passed and thus ended the days of this inestimable Prelate and Pillar of the Protestant Church ; of whom it may justly be said, whether we review him as a Christian, a Man, or a Scholar, few have equalled, and none surpassed him. Nor can we perhaps better conclude our Memoir of One so great, so good, and so wise, than by enumerating his Works, and recording the Commendatory Testimonies which have been so justly lavished upon him by the most learned Men both of his own and other Countries: especially by his friend and contemporary, Peter Martyr.



THE WORKS OF BISHOP JEWELL.

EXHORTATIO AD OXONIENSES. Contained in his Life by Laurence Humfrey, printed 1573. 4to.

EXHORTATIO IN COLL. CORP. CH. SIVE CONCIO IN FUNDATORIS FOXI COMMEMORATIONEM. Also contained in Humfrey's life.

CONCIO IN TEMPLO B. MARIE VIRG. OXON. an. 1550, in 1 Pet. iv. 11, preached for his degree of Bach. of Div. A copy of which is printed in his life, by L. H., and Translated into English by R. V. Lond. 1586. 8vo.

ORATIO IN AULA C. C. CHR. spoken to the society when he was ejected from them. 1554.

EPISTOLA AD SCIPIONEM PATRICIUM VENETUM DE CAUSIS CUR EPISCOPI ANGLIÆ AD CONCILIUM TRIDENTINUM NON CONVENIRENT, AN. 1559. This also is printed in an appendix to the second edition of the translation of the History of the Council of Trent, by Sir Nath. Brent. Lond. 1629. Folio.

LETTERS BETWEEN HIM AND DR. H. COLE UPON OCCASION OF A SERMON THAT MR. JEWELL PREACHED BEFORE THE QUEEN AND HER COUNCIL. Lond. 1560. 8vo.

This letter Combat began 18th of March, 1559, and continued till 18th of May, 1560.

SERMON AT PAUL'S CROSS, the second Sunday before Easter, Anno 1560, on 1 Cor. xi. 23. Lond. 1560. 8vo. In which he gave a bold Challenge to the Papists.

APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ*. Lond. 1562. 8vo. Which book was held in so much esteem by the men of

* The following Editions of this unanswerable and elaborate Work have come under our notice :—

Juelli Apol.	12mo.	London,	1562
Ditto		Do.	1565
Ditto		Do.	1591
Ditto		Do.	1606
Ditto		Amsterdam,	1606
Ditto		Oxford,	1614— <i>Greek.</i>
Ditto		Frankfort,	1617
Ditto		London,	1626
Ditto		Do.	1637
Ditto		Oxford,	1639— <i>Gr. et Lat.</i>
Ditto		Cant.	1683
Ditto		London,	1692
Ditto		Pontif.	1812
Ditto		Cant.	1818

EDITIONS IN ENGLISH.

London.	8vo.	1562
Ditto	4to.	1562
Ditto	4to.	1564
Ditto	Fol.	1567
Ditto	12mo.	1600
Ditto	Fol.	1609
Ditto	Do.	1611
Ditto	8vo.	1685
Ditto	Do.	1719
Ditto	Do.	1720
Ditto	Do.	1813

Besides these, there were Editions printed at Zurich, Geneva, Basle, and various other parts of the Continent. It also forms the first Tract in Mocket's *Doctrina et Politia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, 1618; and was inserted in the late Bishop Randolph's *Enchiridion Theologicum*.

Zuric and all Protestants, that it was translated into all Tongues, to the end that it might be generally known. The celebrated Council of Trent, held at that time, saw and censured it, and appointed a Frenchman and Italian to Answer it; but they hung back, and would, or rather could not.

It was several times printed in England and beyond the seas, and in Greek at Oxon. 1614. 8vo. Translated by J. Smith. This book was soon after its first publication translated into English by Reiner Wolf, in which Archbishop Parker had a considerable share. In the following year it was again translated by Lady Anna Bacon, wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, knight, lord keeper of the great seal of England; and daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke; under the title of—*An Apology or answer in defence of the Church of England concerning the State of Religion used in the same.* Lond. 1562. 4to. This lady was governess to King Edward the Sixth. Her translation of Jewell's Apology was printed in 4to. 1564; 12mo. 1600: when she had finished it, she sent it to Archbishop Parker to peruse it, as a person to whom the care of the Church of England, and its doctrine belonged. She sent it also to the author, Bishop Jewell, to be revised, in order that she might not, in any point, mistake his meaning. This copy was attended with an epistle to him in Greek, and he answered her in Greek again. Both these Prelates read over the translation, and found it so correct, that they had no occasion to alter a single word. See *Ballard's Memoirs of learned Ladies.*

Thomas Hardyng coming out with a confutation of it, our author published

A DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGIE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONTAINING AN ANSWER TO A BOOK LATELY SET FORTH BY MR. HARDYNG, AND ENTITLED, A CON-

FUTATION, &c. &c., in six parts. Lond. 1564. 67. fol. Translated into Lat. by *Thos. Braddock, Bach. of Div. and fellow of Christ's Coll. in Cambridge. Printed beyond the Seas 1600, fol. Soon after the first publication of the said defence. Hardyng publishing *A Detection of certain errors in the said defence*, our Author came out with

AN ANSWER TO MR. HARDYNG'S BOOK, ENTITLED, A DETECTION OF CERTAIN ERRORS, &c. Lond. 1565. Lov. 1568. Afterwards followed,

A REPLY TO MR. HARDYNG'S ANSWER; BY PERUSING WHEREOF THE DISCREET AND DILIGENT READER MAY EASILY SEE THE WEAK AND UNSTABLE GROUNDS OF THE ROM. RELIGION, IN 27 ARTICLES. Lond. 1566. fol. Therein also is an answer to Mr. Hardyng's preface to his aforesaid answer. This reply of Jewell is translated into Latin by Will. Whitaker, fellow of Trinity Coll. in Cambridge. Genevæ, 1586. fol., and with it is printed his *Apology*.

A VIEW OF A SEDITIOUS BULL SENT INTO ENGLAND FROM PIUS V., BISHOP OF ROME, AN. 1569. DELIVERED IN CERTAIN SERMONS IN THE CATH. CH. OF SARUM, 1570. Lond. 1582.

A TREATISE OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, GATHERED OUT OF HIS SERMONS PREACHED AT SALISBURY, 1570. Lond. 1582.

EXPOSITION ON THE TWO EPISTLES OF THE APOSTLE ST. PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS. Lond. 1594. 8vo.

* *Johannis Jewel* episcopi Sarum, responsionis ad Hardingi confutationem, prima pars. MS. in Mus. Brit. 8 D. vii. 2.—*Whittaker*.

A TREATISE OF THE SACRAMENTS GATHERED OUT OF HIS SERMONS. Lond. 1583. 8vo.

CERTAIN SERMONS PREACHED BEFORE THE QUEEN'S MAJESTY AT PAUL'S CROSS AND ELSEWHERE. They are in number at least 13. *viz.*, on Josh. v. 1, 2, 3. Haggai. i. 2, 3, 4. * Psalm lxix. 9, &c. All which books, (the five first excepted) Sermons and Apology, are printed in one vol. in fol. Lond. 1609, with an abstract of his life set before them (but full of faults) written by Dan. Featly. Besides them he hath left behind him these MSS. which, as I conceive, are not yet printed, *viz.*

A PARAPHRASTICAL EXPOSITION OF THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS THROUGHOUT THE WHOLE YEAR.

A CONTINUEATE EXPOSITION OF THE CREED, LORD'S PRAYER, AND TEN COMMANDMENTS.

COMMENTARY UPON THE EPISTLE OF THE GALATIANS.

COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLE OF ST. PETER.

Under his name was printed, AN ANSWER TO CERTAIN FRIVOLOUS OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. London, 1641, in one 4to. Sheet. Taken it seems from some of his works.

Among the Cotton MSS. Caligula. B. 5. fol. 312. b. is a Tract entitled ON THE BP. OF SALISBURY HIS WORDS AT HIS DEATH, AND EPITAPHS.

Prefixed to Wilson's *Discourse Uppon Usurye*, 8vo. 1572, (a copy of which is in St. John's Library, Oxford) is—"A

* This on Psalm lxix. 9, was reprinted by itself, A. D. 1641, with an answer of the same author to some frivolous objections against the government of the Church.

Letter founde in the Studie of the right reverend father in God, and moste godly pastor of Christe's flocke, John Jewell late Bishop of Salisburie, within certeine monthes after his forsaking this Earthly dwellynge."—This is dated Salisbury, August 30th, 1569.

Several entire Letters, together with copious extracts from others, may be seen in Burnett's History of the Reformation, Vol. 3. B. 6. Strype's Life of Archbishop Parker also contains one on a question of a right of Marriage; and in the Library at Zuric there is a large Volume of them still preserved.

TESTIMONIES.

*Peter Martyr's Letter of Congratulation to Bishop Jewell
on receiving a Copy of his Apology for the Church of
England.*

Most worthy Prelate, and my much esteemed Friend,

By the kindness of the Bishop of London, a copy of your Apology for the Church of England, and the first that has reached this country, has been received. In your last letter you indeed rather only intimated the probability of its appearing, than gave any positive pledge to that purpose: the distance, however, prevented its reaching us earlier than about the middle of July—a sufficient proof of the many inconveniences and delays arising from that cause. And allow me to state, that it has not only amply answered my expectations in every respect, which was to be expected from the approbation and delight with which I read all your works; but also the expectations of Bullinger, his Sons, and Sons-in-law. Gualter and Wolfius also bestow their highest praises upon the temper, wisdom, and eloquence with which it is written: giving it as their opinion, that a more perfect work has not issued from the press in the present times. I heartily congratulate you upon this happy effort of your genius; which cannot but bring at once edification to the Church, and honour to your Country: and I publicly call upon you, not to relax in pressing forward in that course which you have thus gloriously begun. For

although we have a good cause, yet the defenders of it are few, when compared with its enemies: and those enemies, too, seem to have become of late fully awake to the necessity of recommending their cause to the ignorant by a flowing elegance of style, and all the arts of sophistry. I particularly allude to those numerous imitators of Staphylus and Hosius, and to many other writers of the same class, who at the present time have become such strenuous advocates of the absurd legends and erroneous doctrines of Popery. Since however you have raised such a general expectation of your talents by your profound and most elegant Apology, I would remind you, that all good and learned men promise themselves that the truth of the Gospel during your life will never fear the want of an able advocate against the attacks of its enemies; and much do I rejoice, that I have lived to see that day, in which so luminous and elegant a production has proceeded from your pen. May God, our heavenly Father, of his goodness grant, that you may benefit mankind with many a future offspring of your Talents, which shall not in excellency fall below the present model.

Zuric, Aug. 24, 1562.

As an Handmaid also to the Holy Bible this * year Bishop Jewell's Latin Apology was first printed, though written the year before. Which book was approved by the allowance and authority of the Queen, and published by the consent of the Bishops and others. It was entitled in English, *An Apology or Answer in Defence of the Church of England: with a brief and plain Declaration of the true Religion professed and used in the same.* The occasion and grounds of writing it, as the author himself

* Anno 1562.

reported, were the slander devised by the Papists against this late Reformed Church:—and highly necessary it was that a justification should be set forth of what was done by the Reformation. Upon which so many aspersions were cast. This Jewell's able pen happily undertook, and of what esteem and Reputation it was in the Church of England in these times appears by a state-book set forth the year after*; “I refer you to the Apology which our Church hath placed openly before the eyes of the whole Christian world, as the common and certain pledge of our Religion.” So that it was written upon a state account by the common advice and consultation, no doubt, of the College of Divines that were then met about Reformation of the Church. And so the Reverend author himself shewed in his Epistle to Queen Elizabeth before his Defence, *viz.*, that it contained the whole substance of the CATHOLIC FAITH then professed and freely preached throughout all the Queen's dominions; that thereby all Foreign Nations might understand the considerations and causes of her doings in that behalf. As in old times did Quadratus, Melito, Justin Martyr, Tertullian and other Godly learned Fathers upon the like occasion, as well to make known the Truth of God, and to open the Grounds of their profession, as also to put the Infidels to silence, and to stop the mouths of the Wicked.—*Strype's Annals of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth.* A. D. 1562. vol. i. pp. 424—6. Ed. Oxford. 1824.

Bishop Jewell was preferred unto the see of Salisbury the first yeere of Queen Elizabeth, a Jewel indeed as in

* Ad Apologiam ablego, quam Ecclesia nostra tanquam communem et certan nostræ Religionis obsidem palam in oculis orbis Christiani collocavit.—*Gual. Haddon. Epist. Hieron. Osorio.*

name, “ Re GEMMA fuit, nomine GEMMA fuit.” He, though he could not maintain the Port his Predecessors did, finding his houses decayed, and Lands all leased out, yet kept very good hospitality, and gave himselfe withall much to writing books, of which divers are extant, and in many men’s hands, *viz.*, HIS APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND; His Challenge, answered by Harding; His Reply to the said Answer; all in English, and all in such estimation even untill this day, that as ST. OSMOND in William the Conquerour’s time gave the pattern for form of service to all the Churches of England, so MR. JEWELL’S writings are a kind of rule to all the Reformed Churches of England, and hardly is there any controversie of importance handled at this day, of which in his works is not to be found some learned and probable Resolution.—*A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England*, by Sir John Harrington, knight, pp. 88—9. Lond. 1653.

At Strasburgh, Bishop Jewell laid the plan of his excellent Apology for the Church of England; though he did not finish it till happier times: a work, in which its many admirers found it hard to say, whether candour, and humanity, or sense, learning, and a well-tempered zeal for Religion were more conspicuous.—*Gilpin’s Life of Archbp. Cranmer*, p. 195.

This most excellent Vindication of our Reformed Church was written by the truly learned author in elegant Latin.—*Biographia Britannica*.

As it was one of the first books published in this Reign, so it was written with that strength and clearness, that it, together with the Defence of it, is still to this day reckoned

one of our best books.—*Burnett's Reformation*, Vol. iii. ed. 1715.

This famous Instrument may truly answer to his Name, for he was a rich Jewell both to the Church and Commonwealth.—*Lupton's History of Modern Protestant Divines*, 258. Lond. 1637.

In reference to the Church alone, nothing appears more memorable than the publishing of an elegant and acute Discourse, entitled, *The Apology of the Church of England*, first writ in Latin by the Right Reverend Bishop Jewell, translated presently into English, French, Italian, Dutch, and at last also into Greek.—*Ecclesia Restaurata*, p. 155. Lond. 1670.

If rare and admirable qualities of our Ancestors do deserve a thankfull acknowledgement of Posteritie, then most deservedlie ought the singular naturall endowments and supernaturall graces of this reverend Prelate to live and flourish in perpetual memory; by whom as an especial means the sincere Religion we now professe received much vigour and strength after her long suppression in the time of Superstition. Indeed such a JEWELL in all respects, such nature with such Grace, so heavenlie learning in so heavenlie a life, such eminent gifts in such eminent place so fruitfullie distilling their wholesome and suretest influence to the refreshing and cherishing of the Church of God, have not been frequently found in these latter times.—*Jewell's Life prefixed to Fuller's Edition of his Works*, fol. Lond. 1609.

When Master Welch Dean of the Colledge made his brags before Doctor Brooks, sometimes Fellow of that Colledge, but then Bishop of Glouster, that they alone had

kept safe their rich Copes, Cushens, Plate, and other ornaments of their Chappell. "It is true," quoth Doctor Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, standing by; "you have saved them, but you have lost a more precious ornament of your house, your JEWELL."—*Abel Redivivus*, p. 303.

Thus have I answered in his behalfe, who bothe in this and other lyke controversies, mighte have beene a great stay to this Church of Englande, if wee hadde beene worthy of him. But whilest he lived, and especially after his notable and moste profitable travayles, he receyved the same rewarde of wicked and ungratefull tongues, that other men be exercised with, and all must looke for, that will doe their dutie.—*Whitgift's Answer to the Admonition*, p. 435. Lond. 1574.

John Woolley, Secretary to Queen Elizabeth, made some verses upon his death; these are the two last of them:—

Moribus, ingenio, doctrina, religione,

Nulla ferent talem sæcula longa virum.

For Manners, Wit, Learning, Religion,

Like him these times will yeeld us few or none.

Lupton's His. Mod. Protestant Divines,

p. 268. Lond. 1637.

The first and indeed the much best writer of Queen Elizabeth's time, was Bishop Jewell: the lasting honour of the See in which the providence of God has put me, as well as of the age in which he lived; who had so great a share in all that was done then, particularly in compiling the second book of Homilies, that I had great reason to look upon his works as a very sure Commentary on our Articles, as far as they led me.—*Bishop Burnett's Preface to his exposition of the thirty-nine Articles*, p. 8. Ed. Lond. 1819.

In addition to the foregoing, in English, we select the following in Latin Prose and Verse, from innumerable Testimonies poured forth in his praise in almost all Languages:—

“Et certe qui in illo viro insignes animi dotes, quibus tanquam immensi pretii gemmis ornatus fuit, spectaverit; fateatur necesse est, raro cuiquam nominis significata aptius convenisse.—Pietatem igitur vitæque integritatem testentur, imo inviti testantur Pontificii, qui hominem exosi cane pejus et angue, tanquam veritatis *propugnatorem insuperabilem*, tamen criminis, ne levissimi quidem labe eum unquam ausi sint aspergere. *Eruditionem vero incomparabilem* loquuntur, et loquentur semper, nunquam inter moritura literarum monumenta ab eo edita, ac illa in primis ECCLESIE ANGLICANÆ APOLOGIA, orationis elegantia, nervorum soliditate, sententiarum pondere mirabilis, qua reformationem hic institutam sugillantium ora conatus est obturare.”—*Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 354. folio. Cantab. 1743.

Joannes Juellus, vir vere *gemmeus*—multos egregios et præclaros libros exaravit ediditque qui tum Anglicè tum Latinè extant, et vaneunt; imprimis vero illam elegantissimam et inconfutabilem APOLOGIAM ECCLESIE ANGLICANÆ.—*Holland's Heroologia*.

Animam etiam [hoc anno, viz., MDLXXI.] cælo reddidit Joannes Juellus vix quinquagenarius, vir singulari ingenio, exquisita in Theologicis eruditione, et summa pietate.—*Camden. Annal.* p. 207, Edit. London, 1615.

Joannes Juellus Superintendens factus Sarisburiensis, qui singulari eloquentiæ opinione apud suos florebat, celeberrimum Sancti Pauli suggestum Londini conscendit maxima

hominum frequentia, ibique conciones aliquot in laudem antiquitatis habuit.—*N. Sanderi De Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, p. 337. *Edit. Colonia Agrippinæ*, 1610.

Juelle, mater quem tulit Devonia,
Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia,
Quem Mariæ ferro, et igne patria expulit,
Virtus reduxit, præsulem fecit parens
Elizabetha docta doctorum artium :
Pulvis pusillus te sepulchri hic contegit :
Quam parva tellus nomen ingens occulit !

Geo. Buchanan.

Hei mihi quam celeri fugiunt mortalia cursu,
Quæque minus debet, surripit atra dies
Vivere tu longo fueras dignissimus ævo :
Flende mihi nimium chare Juelle jaces.
Moribus, ingenio, doctrina, religione,
Nulla ferent talem, sæcula longa virum.

Johannes Wollerus, Secretary to the Queen.

Cernis ut Humfredi rediit redivivus ab arte,
Ille ille, O Angli Gemma Juellus Agri.

Daniel Rogers.

Olim discipulus mihi, chare Juelle, fuisti
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

Parkhursti Ludicra, 4to. 1673.

Dear Jewell whilome Schollar thou wert mine,
But now against thy will I will be thine.

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An
Apologie,
or
Answere in Defence of the
Churche of Englande,
With a Briefe and Plaine Declaration
of
The True Religion professed and used in
the same.

(Facsimile Ed. MDLXVII.)

To
Bishop Jewell.

Holy Learning, sacred Arts ;
Gifts of Nature, strength of Parts ;
Fluent Grace, an humble minde ;
Worth reform'd, and wit refine ;
Sweetnesse both in Tongue and Pen ;
In sight both of Bookes and Men :
Hopes in woe, and feares in weale ;
Humble knowledge, sprighly zeale ;
A liberall heart, and free from Gall ;
Close to friends, and true to all.
Height of courage in Truths duell,
Are the stones that made this **JEWELL**.

Let him that would be truly blest,
Weare this **JEWELL** in his breast.

THE
APOLOGY
FOR THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

THE OPPOSITION AND ILL-TREATMENT WHICH THE
PROFESSORS OF CHRISTIANITY HAVE IN ALL AGES
EXPERIENCED.

Truth always
subject to per-
secution. **I**T has been an old complaint, even
from the time of the patriarchs and
prophets, which is fully confirmed by the writers
of all ages, that Truth is considered a mere
*stranger upon earth, and generally exposed to
the enmity and persecution of the ignorant.

Although this may appear incredible to some,
who have not given the subject due considera-
tion, more especially since man, uninfluenced by
the instruction of a master, is naturally anxious

* Tertull. in Apologetico.

to discover truth; and Christ himself, our Saviour, when on earth, was desirous of being distinguished by that appellation as most expressive of his divine attributes: yet we, who are well acquainted with the Scriptures, and have both read and seen what hath happened to men of piety in all ages; to the prophets, apostles, holy martyrs, and to Christ himself: with what insults, revilings, and indignities they have been persecuted for the sake of truth alone:—we (I say) find nothing new or incredible in this, but consider it as a thing well known, and commonly practised in all ages. On the contrary, it would appear much more worthy our admiration if the Devil,* who is the father of lies, and the enemy of all truth, should now on a sudden change his nature, and hope to suppress truth by any other means than falsehood; or undertake now to establish his kingdom by any other arts than those which he has practised from the first: For whether we consider Religion in its rise, progress, or reformation, we shall scarcely find a single period on record, wherein virtue and truth were not subjected to every species of reproach and persecu-

* St. John viii. 44.

tion. For the Devil clearly perceives, that whilst truth prevails, his dominion cannot be maintained.

For, not to mention the patriarchs and prophets of old, no part of whose lives (as has been already observed) was free from persecution and indignity—we are assured that there formerly were some persons* who affirmed, and publicly declared, that the ancient Jews, who were undoubtedly worshippers of the one true God, paid their devotions either to a sow, or an ass, instead of the Deity, and that their whole religion was mere sacrilege, and contempt of all godliness. We know that our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, when he preached the truth, was stigmatized as † an impostor, a criminal, a Samaritan, as Beelzebub, as a conspirator against the state, a glutton, and a drunkard. Again, who has not heard of the accusations against St. Paul, that zealous preacher, and earnest defender of truth?—at one time, that he was a seditious man, a raiser of tumults, and promoter of rebellion; at another, that he was an heretic, a madman, and that, for the sake of controversy, he blasphemed the laws

* Corn. Tacitus. C. Plinius.
Tertullian in Apol. cap. 16.

† St. John viii. 48.
St. Mark xi. 19.

of God, and treated with contempt the ordinances of the Fathers? Who is ignorant that St. Stephen,* when he had fervently and sincerely embraced the truth, and began, as in duty bound; earnestly and devoutly to preach the same, was capitally accused and condemned as a blasphemer of the law, of Moses, of the temple, of God? Or, who does not know that there have been persons who have charged the Holy Scriptures† with falsehood, asserting that they contained direct contradictions, and that the apostles of Christ severally disagreed among themselves, and St. Paul from the rest? and, not to enumerate all, for that were an endless task, who is ignorant of the many reproaches which were formerly heaped upon our fathers, who first began to acknowledge and profess the name of Christ? they were accused of conspiring‡ together, and fomenting designs inimical to the state, and, for that purpose, of meeting at unseasonable hours of the night, of destroying infants, devouring human flesh, and like wild beasts, drinking the blood of their victims; and

* Acts vi.

† Marcion ex Tertul.

Epiphanius.

Ælius e Lactantio.

‡ Eusebius, lib. 5. c. 11. Tertul. Apolog. c. 1, 2, 3, & 7, 8, 9.

lastly, it was declared, that having extinguished the lights, a scene of promiscuous adultery and incest ensued. that brothers lay with their sisters, and sons with their mothers, without reverence of kindred, without modesty, without distinction—in a word, that the Christians were a race of impious men, having no religion, no God, the enemies of the human race, unworthy of light, unworthy of life.

All these things were at that time spoken against the people of God, against Jesus Christ, against Paul, against Stephen, against all those, who in the early ages embraced the truth of the gospel, and professed themselves disciples of Christ,* a name then hateful among the common people. And although these accusations were far from true, still the Devil thought it sufficient for his purpose if he could make them appear worthy of credit, and thus bring the Christians into public contempt, and make their destruction the avowed object of all men. On this account, kings and princes were persuaded to destroy all the prophets to a man. Isaiah was sawn asun-

* Tertull. in Apol. cap. 3.

der, Jeremiah was stoned, Daniel was cast into the lions' den, Amos was exposed to the torture, Paul to the sword, Christ to the cross, and * all christians were condemned either to imprisonment, the rack, the cross, or the gibbet, to be thrown down from rocks and precipices, exposed to wild beasts, or destroyed by fire; and large funeral piles of their living bodies were consumed in derision and scorn, to serve as torches in the night season; nor were they considered in any other light but as the refuse and filth of the earth, and meet objects for the contempt of the whole world.—In this manner have the authors and professors of truth ever been received.

For the reasons abovementioned, we, who have now undertaken the profession of the Gospel of Christ, ought to bear with greater resignation, whatever trials we endure in the same cause, even though, like our forefathers, we are harassed with reproaches, curses and revilings, not for any crime that we have perpetrated, but merely because we † teach and profess the truth.

* Suetonius, in vita Neronis.
Juvenal. Sat.

† 1 Tim. iv.

The accusa-
tions of the
Papists.

At this very hour, they every where loudly assert that we are all heretics, that we have forsaken the true faith, that we have destroyed the unity of the church by new systems, and impious doctrines.

That we attempt to revive from hell those old heresies which have so long been condemned, and disseminate the new and conflicting opinions of frantic sectarians; and that we are already distracted with jarring factions, and contending passions, and shall never be able even to unite our own interests. They call us impious creatures, who like the giants wage war with God himself, abjuring all homage and devotion to the Deity, and declare that we despise all good actions; that virtue, justice and morality are unheeded by us, and that we esteem neither uprightness, religion, law, nor honor; that we give the rein to licentiousness, and excite the populace to the most unrestrained indulgence of their passions; they affirm that our object in all this, is to overthrow the state of monarchies and empires, and reduce all things under the dominion of the rash, unenlightened and inconstant mob; and add, that we have seditiously seceded from

the Catholic faith, shaken the whole world by our nefarious schisms, and disturbed the common peace and universal quiet of the church; and that, as formerly, Dathan and Abiram conspired against Moses and Aaron, so we, without any just cause, have renounced the Roman pontiff. We are, moreover, accused of setting at naught the authority of the ancient fathers and councils; of having rashly and presumptuously abolished those old ceremonies which, in more ancient and more moral times, had been highly approved by our fathers and remote ancestors; of having, on our own private authority, unsanctioned by the general and sacred council, introduced new ceremonies into the Church, and this not from any religious motive, but from a desire of promoting divisions and schisms in the Christian world. They, on the other hand, boldly assert that no changes have been attempted on their part; but that, to this very day, they strictly adhere to the traditions of the apostles and ancient fathers, which have prevailed through so many ages.

And that these accusations might not appear the offspring of private slander, and a secret

desire of bringing odium upon us, the Roman pontiffs suborned men of eloquence and learning to support their desperate cause, and place it in a fair point of view by their writings and elaborate discourses; so that the ignorant and unskilful might be led by the subtlety and elegance of their arguments, to think more favourably of their designs and doctrines. They saw, indeed, that their influence was every where on the decline; that their tricks were exposed to contempt and ridicule; that the bulwarks of their cause were daily hastening to decay; and that the greatest exertions were absolutely required to support the tottering fabric.

With respect to their accusations against us, many of them are totally false; many condemned by the very persons who uttered them; others, notwithstanding their absolute falsehood, by an artful and plausible gloss of language, exhibit a certain shew and appearance of truth, which may easily deceive a careless and inattentive reader; and some are of such a nature, that, far from attempting to refute them, we ought boldly to declare that they are founded on the basis of truth and reason. In a word, they ca-

lumniate all our measures, even when they cannot deny them to be founded upon good and upright principles, and maliciously pervert all our words and actions, as if it were impossible for us to act or speak with propriety. Had truth been their object, they would have treated us with more simplicity and candour: but instead of open, ingenuous, and Christian conduct, they oppose us with mysterious and crafty lies, and abuse the blind ignorance of the populace, and want of learning in princes, to excite hatred against us, and overwhelm the cause of truth. This is the power of darkness, and of men who rely more on the uncultivated state of a rude and benighted multitude, than on the light of truth, and who, as St. Jerome expresseth it, shut their eyes against the clearest evidence. But we give thanks to the most high and gracious God, that such is our cause, that the rancorous hatred of our enemies can fix no reproach upon us, which may not with equal reason and justice be insinuated against the holy fathers, the apostles, St. Peter, St. Paul, nay, even against Christ himself.

But if these persons are suffered to employ all the powers of learning and eloquence in speaking

evil, it certainly would be disgraceful in us to remain silent spectators in a cause like ours, founded on the principles of virtue and truth; for to disregard the scandalous and false assertions made against our lives and doctrines, (especially when the majesty of God and interests of religion are deeply implicated,) would certainly be the part of dissolute and abandoned men, wickedly conniving at blasphemy and impiety: for although some injuries, even of the most flagrant character, may remain unnoticed by men of mild and Christian dispositions, “yet,” saith Ruffinus, “that man is unworthy the name of Christian who patiently submits to be stigmatized as an heretic.” We shall, therefore, now act according to the dictates of every human law, and the voice of nature herself, and follow the example of our Saviour Christ, when he was in like manner insulted and reviled, that we may repel the charges of our adversaries, and with candour and modesty vindicate our cause and innocence. For Christ himself, when accused by the Pharisees of sorcery, as if he were leagued with impure spirits, and by their aid wrought miracles, replied, * “*I have not a devil; but I honour my*

* John viii. 49.

Father, and ye do dishonour me ;” and Paul, when he was ridiculed by the proconsul Festus, as a madman, answered, **“ I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness ;”* and the primitive Christians, when they were traduced to the people as murderers, adulterers, guilty of incest, and disturbers of the government, and saw that the religion which they professed might, by these insinuations, be called in question, especially if they held their peace, and by their silence appeared to acquiesce in the truth of their accusations—in order that the propagation of the Gospel might not be impeded, made public orations, composed apologies, and vindicated themselves and their tenets in the presence of †princes and emperors. But since the eyes of nearly the whole world are

* Acts xxvi. 25.

† QUADRATUS, a disciple of the apostles, wrote several treatises in defence of the Christian religion, and made an apologetic oration for it before the emperor Adrian, by which he put a stop to the furious persecution then raging against it. *Anno Christi* 128.

JUSTINUS, the martyr, ■ christian philosopher, composed an oration, replete with eloquence and truth, in the same cause, which he dedicated to the emperor Antoninus Pius, to his adopted sons, Marcus and Lucius, and to the senate and people of Rome, *Anno Christi* 150, which cost him his life.

now opened to see the truth, it may appear that enough has been already said on our part; and that when facts speak so plainly for themselves, a laboured defence is unnecessary, especially since during the last twenty years so many thousands of our brethren, in the midst of the most exquisite tortures, have borne testimony to the truth, and all the attempts of princes and potentates to arrest the progress of the Gospel, have been entirely defeated: for if the Popes themselves were either willing or able to consider the matter dispassionately, and examine the rise and progress of our religion; how the decay of their influence has gradually proceeded, without any appearance of human opposition;

MELITO, bishop of Sardis, wrote an excellent apology to Aurelius, in behalf of the Christians, which he himself presented in the tenth year of that emperor's reign. *Anno Christi* 172.

TERTULLIAN also wrote a very learned and able apology for the Christians, which has been translated into our language. It was published by the author, anonymously, at Rome, *Anno Christi* 201, and was of great service to the cause of Christianity, which, at that period, was suffering dreadfully from the calumnies and persecutions of the heathens.

In addition to the above, MINUTIUS FELIX, and other learned Christian writers, at various periods addressed apologies and defences to their persecutors, which are highly esteemed by the learned.

and on the contrary, how our doctrines have increased, and by degrees, been propagated through all countries, and now finally obtained admission into the palaces of monarchs, against the inveterate hostility of so many emperors, kings, popes, nay, of almost the entire world; these circumstances alone, would afford sufficient proof that God himself is on our side; that heaven interposes to defeat their attempts, and that such is the force of truth, that no human efforts, nor even the gates of hell itself can prevail against it. For it cannot be attributed to infatuation or madness, that so many free cities, so many kings, so many princes, have deserted the See of Rome, and preferred the Gospel of Christ.

And although the popes hitherto may not have been able to pay serious attention to these affairs, or if their minds are at this time perplexed and harassed with other interests, and they think it derogatory to the papal dignity to waste a moment's thought on a subject of such trifling importance; is this any reason why our cause should suffer in the public estimation? Or, if they will shut their eyes, and close their hearts, against the acknowledgment of truth, are we

to be considered as heretics, because we obey not their will and pleasure? And if Pope Pius* were the man (we do not say that he so earnestly wishes to be thought) but if he were indeed a person who would consider us as his brethren, or even as men, he would first diligently have examined our arguments, and what might be urged either for or against us; and not, blinded by prejudice, so rashly have condemned unheard so large a portion of the world, so many states, kings, and princes, in that Bull whereby he lately pretended to convene a council.

But lest, when we are in this public manner stigmatized by him, our silence should be construed as an admission of our guilt, especially since we are not allowed an audience in the public assembly of the general Council, wherein none are suffered to give their votes, or declare their opinions, but the avowed admirers and sworn advocates of the Roman See; (for of this we had too great an experience in the last council of Trent, when the ambassadors and divines

* Pius IV.

of the German princes and free cities were totally excluded from every convention: nor can we forget that Julius the third, ten years* previously, took special care by his † *rescript* to prevent any of our party being heard before the Council, unless perchance some one could be found who would openly recant, and change his opinions:) for this reason, we have thought proper to make a written profession of our Faith, and fairly and openly to reply to the objections publicly advanced against us: that the whole world may see the foundation of those Articles of Belief,

* A. D. 1552.

† Bishop Jewell, in his learned and elaborate defence of his Apology, has the following remarks upon this rescript of pope Julius: "Whether pope Julius, by his bulle, utterly debarred the divines, and ambassadors of $\frac{e}{y}$ princes, and free citties of Germanie from al audience, and disputation in the councel, or no, I report me to pope Julius owne bulle touching the same. His wordes be these,"—" *Erit conciliū, ut qui temere loquuti sunt, aut dicta recantaturi veniant, aut eorum inaudita causa, in executionem iam ordinatarum constitutionū Hæretici declarentur, et condemnentur.*" There shal be a councel, that they that have spoken rashly, either may recante their saiesinges, or els without farther hearing, or reasoning of the mater, they may be denounced and condemned for Heretiques, according to the constitutions already made."

A Defence of the Apologie, page 43, ed. fol. 1567, imprinted by Henry Wykes.

which so many excellent men have valued above their lives, and that all mankind may thoroughly understand the nature, disposition, and religious sentiments of those persons whom the Roman Pontiff, without suffering them to be heard in their defence, in defiance of law and precedent, has rashly and inconsiderately condemned as heretics, on the bare report of some difference existing between them on certain points of religion.

But, notwithstanding, St. Jerome will allow no man patiently to endure the stigma of Heresy, yet we are resolved, neither to give way to resentment, nor indulge ourselves in bitter invective, although, in fact, no one ought to be accused of abusive or reproachful language who adheres strictly to truth. This species of eloquence we will leave to our adversaries, who care little for the truth or falsehood of their assertions, and think every word uttered against us, however spiteful and contemptuous in its import, perfectly agreeable to the dictates of modesty and propriety.

Now, if we prove, and that not obscurely and

craftily, but in good faith before God, truly, ingenuously, clearly, and evidently, that the most holy gospel, the ancient bishops, and primitive church, agree with us; and that we have not without reason renounced the Popish tenets, and returned to the apostles, and to the ancient catholic fathers; and if those very persons who detest our doctrine, and pride themselves in the name of Catholics, shall be clearly convinced that all these titles of antiquity, of which they so immoderately boast, belong not to them; and that there is more strength in our cause than they have been willing to allow; then we devoutly hope, that not one of them will be so careless of his Salvation, as not duly and painfully to deliberate, to which party he ought to belong. Undoubtedly, if a man hath not hardened his heart, and stopped his ear against conviction, he will never regret the attentive perusal of our defence, and the having considered how far our profession of Faith is conformable to the Christian religion.

With respect to the charge of HERESY, which is made against us, it is a crime so heinous, that it ought not to be believed of any Christian, un-

less established by the clearest evidence, and as it were,* seen with the eyes, and handled with the hands; for heresy is the renunciation of our salvation, the rejection of the grace of God, a separation from the body and spirit of Christ. But this has ever been an invariable custom, both with them and their fathers, to condemn as sectarians, and promoters of heresy and schism, all who presumed to complain of their errors, and desired a reformation in religion. For no other reason was Christ himself called a Samaritan, but because he was thought to have fallen off to some new religion, and to have been the founder of a new sect: and Paul, the Apostle of Jesus was summoned to appear before the judges, and defend himself against a charge of heresy; whereupon he replied,† “ *I confess unto thee, that after the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and the prophets.*” In short, all that religion which Christians now profess, was, in the primitive ages, branded by the heathens‡ as a sect, and heresy. With these accusations they have always filled the ears of

* 1 John i. 1.

† Acts xxiv. 14.

‡ Tertull. in Apologetico.

princes, that when, through prejudice, they had conceived an aversion to us, and entertained suspicion that all our arguments were grounded upon heresy and sedition, they might be diverted from the subject of debate, and take no cognizance whatever of our cause. And here we must observe, that the proofs ought to be strong and clear, in proportion to the guilt and atrocity of the accusation, especially in these days, when men begin, in some degree, to distrust the infallibility of their oracles, and to enquire more closely than heretofore into the truth of their doctrines. For the system of instruction now pursued towards the people of God, is materially different from that formerly in use, when the decrees and dogmas of the Popes of Rome were esteemed as Gospel, and all religion rested on their sole authority; for now the Holy Scriptures, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, can readily be procured,* by which the truth of the Catholic tenets may be established, and all heresy confuted.

But since no proofs are adduced from Scripture against us, neither have we forsaken Christ,

* 2 Tim. iii. 15.

the Apostles, or the Prophets, the conduct of our adversaries in stigmatizing us as Heretics, is both scandalous and cruel. With this Sword, (sc. of Scripture) Christ overcame the Devil, who tempted him; with these weapons* every high thing that exalteth itself against God shall be cast down and utterly destroyed. *All scripture, saith St. Paul,† is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works*; and accordingly, the holy fathers have never defended themselves against the Heretics with any other weapons than those furnished by the Holy Scriptures. St. Augustin,‡ in his controversy with Petilian, the Donatist, exclaimeth, “Let not these words, ‘*I say, or you say,*’ be heard between us; but rather let us argue, *Thus saith the Lord, there let us seek the church, by him let our cause be judged, our doubts settled.*” And St. Jerome declares, § “All things which are

* 2 Cor. x. 4, 5.

† 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

‡ De Unitate Eccles. c. 3. He also maintains the same sentiment against the Arian bishop Maximinus, l. iii. c. 14; and again epist. xviii.

§ In prim. cap. Aggei.

affirmed to be Apostolical traditions, unless established by the authority of Scripture, are vanquished by the sword of God's word." St. Ambrose,* also, in his address to the emperor Gratian, says, "Let the scriptures, the apostles, the prophets, and Christ himself, be consulted." All these sayings clearly show, that the Catholic Fathers and Bishops of that time, were convinced that the truth of our religion could be proved from the sacred writings; nor did they ever dare to pronounce any man a Heretic, unless he could clearly and indisputably be convicted of his crime from those same Scriptures. For our parts, we may easily vindicate ourselves in the words of St. Paul,† and reply, "after the way which they call heresy, worship we God, and the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, believing all things which are contained in the Law, the Prophets, or the writings of the Apostles."

If we then are Heretics, and they (as they would fain be called,) are Catholics, why do they not act as they well know the Catholic Fathers have heretofore done? Why do they not refute

* Cap. xiv. in prim. cap. Haggai.

† Acts xxiv. 14.

and confound us from the Holy Scriptures? Why do they not challenge us to that trial? Why do they not shew that we have departed from Christ, from the Prophets, from the Apostles, from the Holy Fathers? Why do they hesitate? Why decline the examination? It is the cause of God: why then fear to try it by his unerring Word? But if we are Heretics who submit all our controversies to the Holy Scriptures, and appeal to those very writings which we know were sanctioned by God's own authority, and prefer them to all others which the genius of man can compose; by what name ought those persons to be designated, who shrink from the sentence of the Holy Scriptures; that is, the Judgment of God himself? and who, preferring their own idle dreams, cold conceits, and foolish traditions, have for so many ages corrupted the doctrines of Christ and his Apostles? When Sophocles,* the tragic poet, being now advanced in years, was accused before the judges by his children, as a lunatic, and as one who in his dotage wasted inconsiderately his property, and had need of a guardian; it is said that in vindication

* Cicero de Senectute.

of himself the old man appeared in court, and reciting the *Œdipus Coloneus*, a most elegant and elaborate tragedy composed during the time of his alleged indisposition, triumphantly asked the judges if that appeared the production of a madman. In like manner, we, who are considered by our opponents as insane, and traduced by them as Heretics having no communion with Christ, nor the church of God, have thought it neither useless nor irrelevant, to make a candid and open confession of our faith, and of the hope which we have in our Saviour Christ; that the whole world may know our sentiments on every Article of Religion, and be able to decide, whether that Faith, which we shall prove to be agreeable to the words of Christ, the writings of the Apostles, and the tenets of the Catholic Fathers, and which has been sanctioned by the authority of so many ages, is merely the enthusiasm of Madmen, and a conspiracy of Heretics.

CHAP. II.

AN EXPOSITION OF THE DOCTRINES AND PRECEPTS
SANCTIONED BY THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AT THE
TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

WE Believe that there is one divine nature and essence, which we call GOD; and that this is divided into three equal Persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; all of whom possess the same power, the same majesty, the same eternity, the same divine attributes, the same substance: and although these three Persons are so manifestly distinct, that neither the Father is the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost, nor the Father; yet we maintain that there is but One God: that he alone is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things under heaven.

We Believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as had been decreed before the foundation of the world, when the fulness of time was come became incarnate, and took upon him the whole nature of man from the pure and blessed Virgin, that he might disclose to man-

kind the secret unrevealed purposes of his Father which had been concealed from all ages and generations, and that he might, in his human form, complete the mystery of our Redemption, and nail our sins,* and the written obligation which was against us, to the Cross.

We Believe that for our sakes he died, was buried, and descended into hell; that on the third day, by divine power, he rose again, and returned to life; that after forty days, in the sight of his disciples he ascended into heaven that he might fulfil all things, and placed that self-same body in which he was born, had lived, and been ignominiously treated—wherein he had suffered the most excruciating torments, and cruel death,† had risen from the grave, and ascended to the right hand of his Father, in a state of majesty and glory, far above all principality and power, dominion and influence, and above every Name which is named, not only in this world, but in that which is to come; that He now sitteth there,‡ and will there remain till all things are completed. And although the Divinity and Majesty of Christ are indeed every where dif-

* Col. ii. 14.

† Aug. Tract. 50. in Joh.

‡ Acts iii. 21.

fused, yet it is necessary, (as St. Augustin saith)* that his body be in one place; for we believe, that although Christ gave majesty to his body, he did not on that account take from it the corporeal nature; nor must we deny our Saviour† to have been human as well as divine, but believe, as Vigilius, the Martyr, says, ‡ that Jesus has left us in his human, but not in his divine nature, and that although he is absent from us in the form of a servant, yet he is always with us in the form of God. §

We believe that Christ will come again from thence, to exercise a general judgment, as well upon those he shall then find living, as the dead.

We believe that the Holy Ghost, the third person of the blessed Trinity, is truly God, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both the Father and the Son, in a way not known to mortals, and impossible to be explained by them. That it is his office to soften the hardness of the human heart, when by the salu-

* Tract. 30. in Joh.

† Aug. ad Dardan,

‡ Contra Eutych. lib. 1.

§ Fulgentius ad regem Thrasymundum.

tary preaching of the Gospel, or by any other means, he is received into the breast of man; that he enlightens and leads them to the knowledge of God, guides them in the paths of truth, and entire newness of life, and encourages the hope of Everlasting Salvation.

→ We believe that there is one church of God, and that not, as formerly amongst the Jews, confined to one corner or kingdom, but Catholic and universal, and extending over the whole earth, in such a manner, that no nation whatever can justly complain of being excluded from the Church, and incapable of belonging to the people of God. We believe, also, that this church is the kingdom, body, and spouse of Christ; that of this kingdom, Christ is the sole monarch; of this body, the sole head; of this spouse, the sole bridegroom; that there are various orders of ministers in the Church, that some are Deacons, others Priests, others Bishops, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religious concerns, are entrusted. And yet we maintain, that there neither is, nor possibly can be, any one man appointed to exercise supreme controul over the whole Church; for, in

the first place, Christ is ever present to assist his Church, and requires no vicar,* or sole inheritor and successor; and secondly, no man is endued with a mind sufficiently comprehensive to embrace the universal Church, that is, every part of the world, so as to regulate and administer its affairs with propriety. The Apostles, according to St. Cyprian,† enjoyed an equal share of power, and each was invested with the same authority as St. Peter; they were all in like manner enjoined “to feed the flock, to go into the world, and preach the gospel.” St. Jerome‡ likewise observes, “that all Bishops, wherever they reside, whether in Rome or Eugubium, in Constantinople or Rhegium, held equal pre-eminence, and are of the same priesthood. St. Cyprian§ moreover declares, that there is one order of Episcopacy, a perfect and independent part of which each Bishop holds; and according to the decree of the council of Nice, the Bishop of Rome has no more authority in the church than the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch.

* This argument is intended to refute the Popish doctrine, that the Roman Pontiff is Christ's Vicar General on earth, and the temporal prince of his kingdom in this world.

† De simplicitate Prælatorum.

‡ Ad Evagrium.

§ De simplicitate Prælatorum.

But the Roman Bishop, who now claims universal ecclesiastical dominion, is unworthy of the name of Bishop, or even of Priest, unless he administer the sacraments, and instruct the people, by preaching and admonishing them on suitable occasions. For, as St. Augustin observes, the Title of Bishop is not * honorary, but efficient, and he must not be considered worthy of that dignity, who does not labour for the improvement of the Church, as well as his own advancement. Nor can either the Pope, or any other individual, be the supreme head and governor of the whole Church, any more than he can be her bridegroom, light, salvation, and life: for these names and titles are the distinguishing privileges of Christ himself, and can, with propriety, be applied to him alone; and we know that no Roman Bishop ever assumed so arrogant a title, previous to the reign of the Emperor Phocas, A. D. 613, who, it is well authenticated, obtained the throne by the murder of his master, the Emperor Mauritius. The council of Carthage † wisely decreed, that no Bishop should be allowed the title of sovereign Pontiff, ‡ or chief Priest; the Pope, therefore, in

* 1 Tim. 1. 2, &c.

† Cap. xlvii.

‡ *Pontifex Maximus*, was the title of the heathen Chief

assuming such a distinction, and usurping an authority to which he is not entitled, not only acts in defiance of the ancient Councils and Fathers, but assumes (if he believes the writings of his own predecessor,* Gregory) “an arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, and Anti-christian title,” and becomes therefore the King of Pride; that Lucifer, who exalts himself above his brethren, who abjures the faith, and thereby shews himself the forerunner of Antichrist.

We maintain, that a minister ought to be lawfully called, and duly and ritually appointed to the Church of God, and that no man ought to intrude into the sacred office at the impulse of his own will and pleasure. We are, therefore, unjustly calumniated by those, who are continually asserting, that confusion and disorder are the characteristics of our party; that nothing is done with regularity and order, for that with us, all are Priests, all Doctors, all Interpreters of the Scriptures.

Priest, and cannot properly be rendered into English any other way, as it does not, in any degree, express the nature of the Episcopal office; yet the popes of Rome have usurped this heathen title!

* Greg. lib. iv. ep. 76, 78, 80; lib. vii. ep. 69.

We, moreover, say that authority has been granted to the Priesthood by Christ, to bind, to loose, to open, to shut. The power of *loosing* consists in this—That the minister, by the preaching of the gospel, offers to the broken, contrite, and truly penitent heart, absolution through the merits of Christ, and declares the certainty of the remission of sins, and the hopes of Eternal Salvation; or reconciles, restores, and receives into the congregation and unity of the faithful, those sincere penitents who, by any grievous misconduct, or notorious public offence, have shocked the minds of their brethren, and in a manner separated themselves from the Communion of the Church, and the body of Christ.—Again, the power of binding and shutting, is exercised as often as the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven is closed against the unbelieving and obstinate, and the vengeance of God and eternal punishment is denounced against them, as often as those, who have been publicly excommunicated are excluded from the bosom of the Church. Now, the sentence thus pronounced by his ministers, God himself so far approves, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by them on earth, he has graciously declared shall, in like

manner be loosed, or bound, and ratified in heaven. But the Key by which the Kingdom of Heaven is thus opened and shut, we say, with St. Chrysostom, is “the knowledge of Scripture;” with Tertullian, is “the interpretation of the Law;” with Eusebius, is “the Word of God.”

The disciples of Christ did not however receive this authority that they might hear the private confessions of the people, and attend to secret whispers, as every * *Priestling* now does, and in such a manner, that they appear to consider the KEY entrusted to them for that sole purpose; but it was given to them, that they might go, and teach, and publish the Gospel, and become to the true believer a sweet savour of life unto life—to the unbeliever and infidel, a savour of death unto death: that the minds of the pious, alarmed by the consciousness of their former offences and errors, when they beheld the light of the Gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the Word of God, even as a door is

* *Sacrificulus*, or *Priestling*, as here translated, was merely used as an expression of contempt, to designate the young and ignorant amongst the Popish Priesthood, to whom was, however, entrusted the power of granting absolution, &c.

opened by a key; but that the wicked and rebellious, who refused to believe, and return to the straight path, might be shut up and locked; * and as St. Paul expresseth it, might † “wax worse and worse.” In this manner we interpret the Keys, for thus are the consciences of men either opened or shut. We indeed call the Priest, in this case a Judge; but yet, as St. Ambrose ‡ says, he hath no right whatever to assume any authority, and therefore it was that Christ, to reprove the negligence of the Scribes and Pharisees in teaching, rebuked them in these words: § *Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against men.* Since then the key which opens to us the Kingdom of Heaven is the word of the gospel, and the interpretation of the Law and Scriptures; where there is no such word, there is no key: and as one key, that is the same word, was given to all, it follows, that the authority of all ministers as to

* “Shut up, and locked,” that is, that their hearts might be hardened, and closed against the reception of Truth and the Word of God, which is the true key to open the door of the Human Heart.

† 2 Tim. iii. 18. ‡ De pœniten. dist. i. cap. Verbum Dei.

§ Matt. xxiii, 13. Luke xi. 52.

binding and loosing is one and the same. We therefore deny that the Pope himself, although soothed by his parasites with these flattering words: * *I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, as if they were his peculiar right, and sole property, unless he exerts himself to turn and subdue the consciences of men to the word of God—we, I say, deny that he can either open or shut the door of the Kingdom, or that he hath even possession of the Key. And, although he may teach and instruct the people, (which I sincerely wish he would do, and consider it as in some degree, at least, incumbent on him,) still his Key is neither larger nor better than that of others. For who distinguished him? Who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully than his brethren?

We consider Marriage an holy and honourable estate in all sorts and degrees of men; in the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, blessed Martyrs, Ministers of Religion, and Bishops; that, as St. Chrysostom† saith, it is both lawful and just for a person in such a condition to ascend the epis-

* Matt. xvi. 19.

† Chrysost. In Titum. Hom. i. cap. 2.

copal throne. And we agree with Sozomen,* when speaking of Spiridion, and Nazianzen† of his own Father, that a pious and active bishop, far from being disqualified by matrimony, becomes, on that very account, a better and more profitable minister. The Law therefore which deprives men of this liberty, and binds them to a life of celibacy, is rightly deemed by us, in the words of ‡ St. Paul, the *doctrine of Devils*; and the source and origin whence the profligacy, immoral and flagitious conduct of the Ministers of God has chiefly risen: which the § Bishop of Augusta, Faber, the abbot of Palermo, Latomus, the tripartite work annexed to the second volume of the Councils, and other champions of the Papal authority confess; and which indeed is apparent from the very nature of the case, and the unanimous consent of all historians. So that Pope Pius|| the second decided most properly when he said, that “there were many reasons why the clergy should not be allowed to marry, but far greater and more weighty ones why this privilege should be restored to them.”

* Theop. ad Titum x. cap. 6.

† In Monodia sua super Basilium. ‡ 1 Tim. iv. 1.

§ Huldericus.

|| Platina in Vita Pii Secundi.

We receive and embrace all the Canonical Books, both of the Old and New Testaments; giving thanks to our most gracious God, that he hath furnished us with this light to shine for ever before our eyes; lest, by human fraud, or the snares of hell, we should at any time be seduced into errors and false doctrines. We acknowledge them to be the voice of God by which he has declared his will unto us; that in them alone the soul of man can find rest; for they alone, as Origen, St. Augustin, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril have taught us, abundantly and fully contain every thing that is necessary for our soul's health: in them is manifested the * power and might of God unto salvation; they are the foundations of the Prophets and Apostles, on which the Church of God is built: by their infallible law, in all cases of error or corruption, the doctrines of the church ought to be tried: in opposition to them, no law, no tradition, no custom, is to be received, not even though St. Paul † himself, or an Angel from Heaven should come and teach otherwise.

We allow moreover the Sacraments of the

* Rom. i. 16.

† Gal. i. 8.

Church, that is, the sacred signs and ceremonies which Christ enjoined us to use; that by them he might place before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood, and seal in our hearts his grace: and these we call figures, signs, types, patterns, forms, seals, signets, similitudes, examples, representations, remembrances, and memorials: as likewise did Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, Dionysius, and many other Catholic Fathers. Nor do we hesitate, with the same learned Doctors, to call them a kind of Visible Words, the Seals of Righteousness, and Symbols of Grace. At the same time also we expressly affirm, that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper the body and blood of our Lord is truly exhibited * to believers; that is, the flesh of the

* The Bishop, in his reply to Harding's Strictures, fully explains the nature of the Sacrament, and the manner in which it ought to be understood; he first cites the following Passage from St. Augustin;—"This is the EATINGE of that meate, and the DRINKINGE of that drinke, that a man dwel in Christe and have Christe dwelling in him." And again—"of the Sacramentes of Christe, wee doo bothe speake, and thinke reverently, and as it becommeth us, and accordinge to the Holy Scriptures, Wee saie that a CREATURE is a CREATURE, that a SACRAMENTE is a SACRAMENTE, and not GOD. We saie

Son of God which quickeneth our souls, the meat which cometh from above, the food of immortality, grace, truth, life: and that, by participating in the communion of the body and blood of Christ, we are revived, strengthened, and refreshed unto Immortality, and so joined, united, and incorporated with Christ, that we may ever abide in him, and he in us.

• We acknowledge two Sacraments, which properly ought to be so called—Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord: for these we find delivered and sanctified by Christ himself, and approved by St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, and the ancient Fathers.

Baptism is looked upon as the Sacrament of the Remission of Sins; as a type of that washing and purification which we have in the Blood of Christ: and from this no one is to be excluded who is anxious to profess the Faith of Christ; not

with St. Augustin, The Sacramente is not our Lorde, but the breade of our Lorde." And again—"In Sacramentes we must consider, NOT WHAT THEY BE IN DEEDE, but what they SIGNIFIE." *The Defence of the Apologie. Ed. Lond. 1567. fol. p. 210.*

even the children of Christians, since they are born in sin, and belong to the people of God.

We consider the Eucharist, or Supper of our Lord, as a visible symbol of the Body and Blood of Christ in which his death, resurrection, and all the actions of his human life are, in a certain degree, represented to our eyes; that we may give him thanks for his death, and our redemption through it: and by frequenting the Sacrament continually renew the remembrance thereof: that by feeding on the Body and Blood of Christ we may be brought into the Hope of the Resurrection, and of Everlasting Life; and that we may be assured, that his Body and Blood is as effectual for the nourishment of our Souls, as bread and wine for our Bodies. To this solemn feast the people ought earnestly to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and publicly declare and testify the unity that exists among themselves, and the hope which they have in Christ Jesus. For this reason, before the introduction of private mass, if any one wished to be a mere spectator, and was unwilling to participate in the Holy Communion, he was excommunicated, as an infidel and heathen, by the

ancient Fathers* and Roman bishops of the primitive Church: nor was any Christian, in those days, allowed to communicate by himself, in the presence of others. For Calixtus† long since decreed, that after the consecration all should communicate, or be excluded from the Church: observing, that such was the practice of the Apostles, which was followed by the Church of Rome. Moreover, when the people came to the Holy Communion, the Sacrament ought to be administered to them in both kinds. For thus Christ commanded, the Apostles every where ordained, and such was the undeviating practice of the primitive Fathers and Catholic Bishops: and whoever transgresses this regulation, is, according to Gelasius,‡ guilty of Sacrilege. We therefore maintain that our opponents, who, rejecting the Communion, defend private masses, and a mutilation§ of the Sacrament without the

* Chrysostom ad Ephes. Ser. III. de conser. Dist. i. Cap. *Omnes*.

† Known in the decree under the name of ANACLETUS. Dist. ii. Cap. *Seculares. et cap. peracta*.

‡ De Cons. Dist. ii. cap. *Comperimus*.

§ Some copies have *Multitudinem*, alluding to the number of the Popish Sacraments.

authority of the word of God, without any ancient Council, without any Catholic Father, without the example of the primitive Church, and without reason; (and this, not only against the positive command and express declaration of Christ, but also in opposition to the uniform practice of antiquity,) are guilty of impiety and sacrilege.

• We consider the Bread and Wine as the sacred and heavenly Mysteries of the Body and Blood of Christ; and that by them, Christ himself, being the true Bread of Eternal Life, is in such a measure administered to us, that, through faith, we actually receive his Body and Blood. In affirming this however we do not insinuate that the nature of the Bread and Wine suffers any *material* change, as many visionary writers have lately affirmed; although, at the same time, they have been unable to reconcile their conflicting sentiments on this subject: for it was not our Saviour's intention that the wheaten bread should change its nature, and become, as it were, a divine substance; but that we, as Theophylact observes,* should become new creatures, and in-

* In Johan. Cap. vi.

corporate ourselves with his Divine Attributes. Nothing indeed can possibly be more clear than the words of St. Ambrose;* “The Bread and Wine still remain the same in substance, but are nevertheless changed.” With whom †Gelasius agrees, saying; “The Nature of the Bread and Wine is not affected:” and ‡Theodoret argues; “that these Mystical Types do not *substantially* change, but still retain their former quality, form, and nature.” St. Augustin § says; “that which ye see is the Bread and Cup, of which your eyes convince you: but your Faith requires you to consider the Bread as the Body of Christ, the Cup as his Blood. Origen || observes; “that Bread which is sanctified by the word of God, with respect to its material substance, entereth into the Belly, and is cast out into the draught;” and, finally, Christ himself, not only at the consecration, but after the administration, declared that he would drink no more of the fruit of this vine.** Now it is well known, that the fruit of

* De Sacramento. lib. iv. c. 4.

† In Dialog. i. et ii.

‡ In Sermone ad Infantes.

§ De cons. dist. ii. cap. Qui manducant.

|| In Matt. sect. xix.

** St. Luke, xxii. v. 18.

the vine is Wine, not Blood. In thus speaking however it is very far from our intention to depreciate the value and importance of the Supper of the Lord, or to consider it a mere formal unimportant ceremony of which we are by many persons so falsely accused; for we affirm that Christ is absolutely present in his Sacraments. In Baptism, that we may be clothed with His Spirit.* In the Communion, that we may receive Him by Grace and Faith, and have Eternal Life through his Cross and Passion. Nor is this a cold, unmeaning assertion, but proceeds from a firm conviction of the Truth: for although we do not absolutely touch the Body of Christ with our lips and teeth, yet we hold him fast, and spiritually eat him in our hearts, through Faith. Nor is that Belief vain which comprehendeth

* St. Chrysostome saith, wee receive in the Holy Mysteries the onely begotten Sonne of God, meaninge by *Faith onely*, not by *Mouthe*, even so he writeth of the Sacramente of Baptism: "If any man had geeven thee a Princely Robe, or a crowne, wouldest thou not sette more by it, than by any Gold? But I wil geewe thee, not a Princely Robe, but the *Prince himselfe*, to put on thee. Thou wilt saie, howe maie a man put on Christe upon him?" Heare what St. Paul saith, As many of you as are Baptized in Christe, have put on Christe.

Defence of the Apologie, fol. 285. Lond. 1567.

Christ, nor received with cold devotion, which is embraced with Faith, Spirit, and Understanding. For Christ himself is so entirely offered up, and, as far as possible, given for us, that we may assuredly know that* we are Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone; and that he dwelleth in us, and we in him.†

In the Celebration therefore of these Mysteries, before they approach the Altar, the People are with great propriety admonished to “lift up their hearts,” and direct their thoughts‡ to Heaven; for there HE is on whom they are about to feed and live. In allusion to which, St. Cyril observes; “that in partaking of these Mysteries all gross ideas are to be banished;” and the Nicene Council, (as quoted by some in Greek), expressly forbids us to think irreverently of the Bread and Wine which is set before us. St. Chrysostom, in one of his chapters, very properly says, that we consider the Body of Christ as the Carcass, and should therefore look upon ourselves as the Eagles: meaning thereby,

* Gen. ii. 23. † John vi. 56.

‡ De Consec. dist. i. cap. Quando.

that if we are desirous to approach the Body of Christ we must soar on high, and raise our hearts to the throne of God. For this is the table of Eagles—not of Daws. St. Cyprian* calls this Bread the nourishment of the Soul, not of the Body; and St. Augustin† exclaims, “How shall I hold him being absent? How shall I stretch forth my hand unto heaven, and there reach him on his throne?—By Faith.”‡

In our Churches we do not tolerate the public exhibition and sale of Masses, or the carrying about and adoration of the Bread, and such like idolatrous and blasphemous follies; which they themselves dare not affirm to be founded upon the authority of Christ, or his Apostles. We

* De Cœna Domini. † In Johan, tract xxx.

‡ The words of St. Augustin are—Sende up thy Faithe: and thou holdest him. Thy Fathers (THE JEWES) held him in Fleashe; holde him thou in thy Harte. For Christe beinge ABSENTE, is also PRESENTE. Onlesse he were presente, wee coulde not holde him. But, for as mutche as it is true, that he saithe, Beholde, I am with you until the ende of the worlde, therefore he is gone, and yet is here. He is comme againe, and hath not forsaken us. For he hath advanced his Body into Heaven; but he hath not withdrawn his Majestie from the Worlde.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 290. fol. 1567.

justly condemn the Popes, who, without any command of God, without any authority of the Holy Fathers, without any precedent, presume to place the Sacramental Bread before the people, not only as a proper object of Divine Worship, but also to carry it about with them on an ambling nag* whithersoever they go: in the same manner as the Persians did formerly their sacred fire, and the † Egyptians the relics of their Goddess Isis. We behold with indignation the Sacraments of Christ reduced to a mere pageantry and show: so that the very thing wherein his Death was to be celebrated and inculcated, and in which the Mysteries of our Redemption ought

* At this strange solemn festival guise Pope Urbanus the fourth learned, not of Christe, or Paule, but onely by the Revelation of Dame Eva the Anchoresse: and by her good advise founded the newe Feaste of CORPUS CHRISTI, and caused the Sacramente to be borne about in Procession.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 293.

The Popish Doctor, Gabriel Biël, says himself, Christe gave not the Sacramente to his disciples to the ende thei shoulde keepe it with honour: But he gave it to them for their use, saieing to them, Take and eate. *Biël Lect. xxvi.*

Humbertus, also, states that Christe did not onely blesse the Breade, and reserve it to be broken the next daie: nor did he onely breake it, *and laie it up*; but beinge broken *streightwaie* he delivered it. *Cited by Cassander in Liturgiis.*

† Liber de ceremoniis Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

to be reverently and piously represented, is converted into an idle spectacle to gratify the eyes, and excite the admiration of the ignorant multitude.

Again—it is ridiculous folly, and heathenish impiety in them to assert, and sometimes even persuade credulous fools to believe, that their Masses are capable of communicating to man all the merits of the Death of Christ; for it is our Faith alone, not the act of receiving the Sacraments, that makes the Cross and Passion of our Saviour profitable for our Salvation. We are justified by Faith in the efficacy of the Sacraments; not by the Sacraments themselves, saith St. Augustin. And * Origen calls “Jesus, the Priest, the Propitiation, and the Sacrifice, which Propitiation is effectual for all mankind, through Faith.” We therefore agreeable to this doctrine maintain, that without faith the Sacraments do not profit the living, much less the dead.

The doctrine
of Purgatory.

The State of Purgatory, which forms a leading feature in their articles of belief, though

* Ad Rom. cap. iii. lib. 3.

no new fantasy, is nevertheless a mere idle fable, or an old wife's tale. * St. Augustin, it must be confessed, sometimes says that there is such a place, sometimes thinks it not impossible there may be: again he wavers in his opinion, and finally decides against it, and considers that men are deceived on this point by the natural affection they entertain for departed friends: and yet, from this one error, such a host of minor Priests have arisen, that in every corner masses are publicly and openly sold; the Church of God is converted into shops for the sale of indulgencies; and ignorant men persuaded, that nothing is more necessary to be purchased: undoubtedly, nothing can be more profitable for these Priestlings. †

* Aug. in Psal. lxxxv. In Enchiridio, cap. vi. vii.

Augustin de civitate Dei. lib. ii. c. 26.

† A just idea may be formed of the immense sums obtained by this impious traffic, from Bishop Jewell's celebrated Defence of this Apology, and his elaborate Exposition of the Popish Articles of Religion. In his Reply to Harding, he gives us a fine Picture of the avaricious views and selfish principles of the Papists in general, and concludes with these remarkable words: "As the case nowe standeth, and as moste menne thinke, the Pope could be contented to lose bothe *Heaven* and *Helle*, to save his Purgatorie."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 308. fol. 1567.

The multitude
of idle Ceremo-
nies.

With respect to the multitude of vain and superfluous ceremonies, we know that * St. Augustin made heavy complaints in his time. We therefore have rejected a great number of them, knowing that they afflicted the consciences of men, and were burthensome to the Church of God: nevertheless, we observe and esteem not only all those which we are assured were authorized by the Apostles, but also certain others, which did not appear to us oppressive or injurious to the Church of God: for it was our wish, as † St. Paul commands, that all things should be done decently, and in order. At the same time however we have unreservedly abolished those numerous Popish rites, which appeared to us either superstitious, useless, unmeaning, ridiculous, or plainly contradicting the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, and unworthy the adoption of rational creatures; being indignant at observing the worship of God disgraced by such follies.

The use of
Prayer in our
own language.

We make our prayers, as we undoubtedly ought, in that language

* Ad. Johan. Epist. cxix.

† 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

which our hearers understand, that they may, as St. Paul* expresseth it, receive advantage from joining with us in our devotions. Thus also, the Holy Fathers, and Catholic Bishops, not only in the Old, but also in the New Testament, have uniformly both prayed themselves, and taught others to pray; lest, in the words of St. Augustin, “we should, like jays and parrots, appear to utter that which we do not understand.”

Of Mediators
and Intercessors. The only Mediator and Intercessor, by whom we have access to God the Father, is JESUS CHRIST; in whose Name alone all things are obtained from the Father. The infinite number of mediators who are worshipped in the churches of our adversaries without the least authority of the word of God, savours strongly of impiety and idolatry. Whence, as the Prophet † Jeremiah observes, according to the number of thy Cities so are thy Gods, or even more numerous; so that wretched mortals cannot decide to whom they should offer their supplications. Yet, notwithstanding their almost countless numbers, these men have assigned to each of them a

* 1 Cor. xiv.

† Jerem. ii. 28. and xi. 13.

peculiar office and duty; and pointed out to the deluded multitude what manner of gifts they can bestow, or what miracles they can perform; and have, both impiously and impudently solicited the Virgin Mary “to remember that she is a Mother, to command her Son, and use a Mother’s authority over him.” *

The doctrine of Original Sin. We maintain that man is both *born*, and *lives* in Sin; that no one can, with truth, say “my heart is clean;” and that the most righteous person is but an unprofitable servant.† The Law of God is esteemed by us as perfect, and worthy of entire and unqualified obedience; but we are still conscious of an utter inability to fulfil it in this mortal life, and that no one can, by his own deserts, be justified in the sight of God. On this account therefore we Believe that Jesus Christ

* Bernardus.

† St. Jerome, in defence of this position declares, that “notwithstandinge wee saie thus, yet wee flatter not Vices; but wee folowe the Authoritie of the Scriptures, that there is nothinge without Sinne. But God hathe shutte up al thinges under Sinne, that he maie have mercie of al.” Again, he says, “It is moste certaine, that every man, yea although hee be growen to Perfection, yet needeth the Mercie of God; and that he enioieth ful Perfection, not of his owne deservinge, but of Grace.”

Hieronimus ad Algasiam, et in Hezechi. lib. 14. cap. 46.

is our only Help and Refuge that the Mercy of our Father is to be obtained through his Intercession alone; that he is the only propitiation for our Sins, by whose blood our stains are washed out; that, by his sufferings on the Cross, our peace is made with God;* that by the one oblation of himself upon the Tree, he was made a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice; and that therefore when he gave up the ghost he exclaimed,† “IT IS FINISHED:” as if by these words he intended to declare that the Price and Ransom for the sins of all the world was now fully paid.

The perfect-
ness of the Sa-
crifice of Christ.

If there are any persons who still think this sacrifice incomplete, let them go and seek a more perfect one. We, for our parts, knowing it to be the only one, are content with this alone, and seek no other: and as it was to be offered but *once*, we do not enjoin the repetition of it: and being full and perfect in every respect, we do not substitute a continual succession of our own sacrifices.

* 1 John ii. 2. and iv. 10. Col. i. 20. Heb. x. 14.

† John xix. 30.

The nature of
Good Works.

Although we assert that our own deeds and actions possess no efficacy, and found all our hopes of Salvation upon Christ alone; we do not on that account insinuate, that men may lead profligate and abandoned lives, nor that it is sufficient for a Christian to believe and be baptized, and that nothing farther is expected of him,—“ * For the true Faith is a lively Faith, and cannot be idle.” We therefore instruct the people after this manner: that God hath called us, not to riot and wantonness, but, as † St. Paul says, to good works, that we might walk in them; that we are delivered from the powers of darkness to serve the living God; ‡ that we might cut off the remnant of sin, § and work out

* St. Cyprian says—“ Howe doothe hee saie, He beleeveth in Christe, that doothe not the thinge that Christe commanded ?” On which passage, Bishop Jewell observes, in his defence—“ Hereby it is plaine, that true Faithe is lively, and workeful: and, that an idle Faithe is indeede no Faithe at al. p. 321.

† Ephes. ii. 10. ‡ Col. i. 10.

§ St. Bernard concludes one of his commentaries on the Psalms, in these words: “ My merite is the Mercie of God ; so longe as God is not poore of mercie, so longe cannot I be poore of merite. If his mercies be greate, then am I greate in merites. This is the whole merite of Man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lorde.” *Bernard in Psal. Qui habitat.*

our own Salvation with fear and trembling;* that the Spirit of Sanctification might appear to dwell in our bodies, and Christ himself, through Faith, in our hearts.

Finally, we believe, that this same flesh in which we live, though in death it may be turned into dust, will still, at the last day, return to life through the Spirit of Christ dwelling in us; that then, however much we may previously have suffered for his sake, he will wipe away every tear from our eyes; that through him we shall enjoy everlasting life, and remain for ever with him in glory.† Amen.

* Phil. ii. 12.

† The cause of our Resurrection, says St. Paul* is the spirit of God that dwelleth in us; and according to Origen, "We shall rise again, because of the Spirit that dwelleth within us; for of necessity the Spirit must have his house restored unto him;" and St. Augustin, in similar language declares, "This is my whole hope, and all my trust. For in Christ our Lord is Flesh and Blood, which is a portion of each of us. Therefore, where a portion of mine reigneth, there I believe that I reign also.

Origen ad Rom. cap. viii. lib. 6. Augustini Meditationes, cap. xiv.

* 1 Cor. c. xv.

CHAP. III.

THE ORIGIN AND CAUSES OF THE VARIOUS HERESIES
IN THE CHURCH, AND THE AGES DURING WHICH
THEY PREVAILED.

These are the frightful heresies under colour of which a great part of the world is at this day condemned by the Pope without a trial. The attack should rather have been commenced against Christ, against the Apostles, against the holy Fathers; for with them have these doctrines originated, by them have they been sanctioned and established: unless, indeed, they are disposed to assert, (and possibly they may) that Christ did not institute the holy Communion to be distributed among the faithful; or that the Apostles of Christ and the ancient Fathers said private masses in every corner of the Churches; sometimes ten, or even twenty in a day: or perhaps they will affirm, that Christ and his Apostles drove away the plebeian portion of the Community from a participation in the Sacrament of his Blood; or that, that, which is to day every where practised by these men, (and

so practised too that he who complies not is condemned as a Heretic), was not denominated sacrilege by their own Gelasius: that St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, Gelasius, Theodoret, St. Chrysostom, and Origen, never declared the Sacramental Bread and Wine to continue what they were in their unconsecrated state; never said that what we behold upon the Lord's table is Bread; that the substance of the Bread and nature of the Wine remain altogether and entirely unchanged, and that the Bread itself, considered materially, "goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the draught:"—or will they say that Christ, his Apostles, and the holy Fathers offered up their prayers in a language not understood by the people? will they say that Christ, by that one oblation of himself, once offered, hath not completed the work of our Redemption? or, that this sacrifice was so imperfect, that now we have need of another?

All this they must, in substance, assert, unless they argue that all laws, both human and divine, are vested in the person of the Pope; or that, as one of his parasites hesitated not in the true spirit of flattery to assert, he could, when he

thought proper, annul the decisions of the Apostles and Councils; nay, invalidate even the Apostolical Canons themselves: * that it was not for him to be directed either by the example, the institutions, or the laws of Christ.

These are the doctrines we have been taught by Christ, by the Apostles, by the holy Fathers: these, unaltered, uncorrupted, we teach the people of God; and for this cause indeed it is, that we are this day stigmatized as Heretics by this usurper of religious authority.

O, eternal God! And has Christ, have the Apostles, have so many Fathers, all been involved together in the same error? Were Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Chrysostom, Gelasius, Theodoret, all Apostates from the Catholic Faith? Was the singular unanimity of so many venerable Bishops and learned men only an Heretical Conspiracy?

Are *we* to be condemned for maintaining those sentiments which gained *them* so much approba-

* Dist. xxxvi. Lector in Glossa. Dist. lxxxi. Presbyter.

tion? Has that which in them was Catholic, *now suddenly*, with the veering breath of human caprice, become schismatic? Shall what was formerly true, because it no longer pleases them, be deemed false? Let them give us another Gospel, or at least show some plausible reason why these Pillars of Faith, which for so many ages have attracted the eye of public admiration, for so many ages upheld the Church of God, should now at length be demolished?

We are convinced that the word which Christ revealed, and his Apostles preached, is sufficient for our salvation—sufficient to propagate all truth—sufficient to convict every species of Heresy.

From this alone do we condemn all those ancient Heresies, which our adversaries declare that we have recalled from Hell: Nay, Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, Ebionites, Valentinians, Carpocratians, Tatians, Novatians—all those, in a word, who have entertained impious ideas of God the Father, of Christ, of the Holy Spirit, or of any other point in Christianity, (inasmuch as the Gospel of Christ condemns them,) we too

pronounce them impious and abandoned—we, too pursue them with detestation, even to the gates of Hell, and not only so, but if any of these heresies break forth and intrude themselves on our notice, we curb them with the severe and rigid discipline of the civil law.*

We confess indeed that certain new and hitherto unheard of Sects, as Anabaptists, Libertines, Mennonians, Zuenckfeldians, arose immediately after the Reformation: but, thanks be to God, the world now sees, clearly enough, that we neither generated, educated, nor nourished these monsters. Peruse, whosoever thou art, peruse our books; they may every where be procured. What work ever proceeded from the pen of any one of our party favourable to the speculations of these madmen? At this very hour no countries are so free from this infection as those where the Gospel is freely and publicly preached; and this very circumstance, if properly and attentively considered, is a convincing

* The Bishop appears, in this place, to allude to the execution of George Paris, an Arian, who was burnt in the reign of Edward VI. April 4th, 1551, for Heresy, though he was a German by Nation.

Godwin's Annals.

argument that we teach the truth of the Gospel; for darnel springs not up without corn, nor chaff without grain. Who knows not how many heresies simultaneously arose in the times even of the Apostles themselves at the first propagation of the Gospel? Who ever before had heard of Simon, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcossius, Colorbasius, Heracleon, Lucian, Severus? But why mention these? Epiphanius enumerates eighty, St. Augustin more, and those distinct heresies which grew up together with the Gospel. But what then? Was the Gospel not the Gospel because so many heresies accompanied it? Was Christ, on that account, not Christ? But, as was before observed, it is not among us who freely and publicly teach the Gospel that these Heresies have sprung up. It is among our adversaries, in blindness and in darkness, that these pestilences originate, and receive progressive strength, while the truth is suppressed by them with savage tyranny, and can be heard only in the sequestered corner and the secret meeting. Let them make the experiment: let them give free scope to the Gospel: let the truth of Jesus Christ shine, and emit its rays throughout the Universe; and they will soon see these

shadows disappear before the light of the Gospel, even as the beams of the rising sun dissipate the nocturnal clouds: for whilst our adversaries remain in a state of useless inactivity: we, who are falsely charged with fostering and promoting these heresies, are daily engaged in exposing and repressing them.

As far as regards their accusation of our having lapsed into Sectarianism, enlisted under the banners of Luther and Zuinglius,* and our utter want of unanimity on doctrinal points of the last importance; what would they have said, had they been contemporary with the Apostles and the † Fathers? What would they have thought, had they heard one affirm, I am of Paul; another, I am of Cephas; a third, I am of Apollos? Had they beheld St. Paul rebuking St. Peter; and, in consequence of a conflict in their

* Zuinglius was the author of the *doctrine*, and Calvin of the *discipline* of this *Sect*, who are now generally known as Calvinists—the designation of Zuinglians having been long disused.

† The learned Erasmus says, “In those days, it was a great point of wisdom to know how to be a Christian.”

opinions, separating from Barnabas? Had they lived in those days, when, according to Origen, the Christians were so divided by faction, that, save the name alone, no vestige of Christian unanimity remained: when, as Socrates informs us, their discussions and divisions were the subject even of theatrical ridicule: when the Emperor Constantine describes the tide of disunion and animosity to have run so high as far to exceed every former calamity: when Theophilus, Epiphanius, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, Ruffin, St. Jerome, who were all Christians, all Fathers, all Catholics, were inflamed against each other, by the most bitter and implacable animosity: when, as Nazianzen affirms, “the members of the same body consumed each other; when the East rose in conflict with the West, irritated by the dispute about leavened bread, and the observation of Easter: things of no such mighty importance: and when such was the innovating Spirit of the Councils, that new decrees and new creeds were continually sanctioned:—had they, I repeat it, lived in these days, what then would they have said? Which party would they have espoused? Whom would they have rejected? What Gospel would they have credited? Whom

would they have stigmatized as heretics? Whom esteemed as Catholics? But now, Luther and Zuinglius alone descend into the arena; and how tragical the scene!

And, ought we then, because they happen to differ on certain points, to conclude that both are wrong; that neither have received the Gospel; that neither have taught it in the spirit of rectitude and truth?

But, good God! who are these who take cognizance of our dissensions? Are they themselves unanimous? Are all of them resolved upon one system of practice? Do no animosities, no dissensions, prevail among them? “Why then do the Scotists and Thomists agree no better with each other on the nature of reward, whether it is a matter of strict justice, or an act of pure mercy? Why are they at issue on the nature of Original Sin in the blessed Virgin; on the obligation of a solemn and a single vow? Why do their Canonists affirm that auricular confession is founded on the positive Law of Man; while their Scholars contend for its divine institution? Why does Albertus Pighius differ

from Cajetanus, Thomas from Lombardus, Scotus from Thomas, Ochamus from Scotus, Alliacensis from Ochamus, the Nominalists from the Realists? Not to mention the various orders and disagreements of Monks* and Friars, (some of whom consider that Holiness of Life consists in eating Fish, others in living upon Herbs; some in wearing shoes, others, sandals; some prefer linen garments, others woollen: there are moreover, the Black Friars and the White Friars; some shave their heads entirely, others only in front; some wear shoes, others go barefooted; and some wear a girdle, which others decline: †

* Step. Gardiner in *Sophistica diaboli*. Rich. Faber, *Recantatio Berengarii Schola et Glossa*. Guimundus de Consec. Dist. ii. Ego Beren.

† Bishop Jewell, in his defence, observes, "The Pharisees, it appeared, made no great account of the Holiness of their Garments; yet, notwithstanding, under the colour and shadow thereof, they deceived the people, and therefore Christ saith unto them, Wo unto you, Scribes and Pharisees; and unto the people he saith, beware of them that love to go in long robes."

Defence of the Apologie, p. 344.

To this, the saying of Macrobius may be added, "*Dolosi hominis dolosæ vestes.*" Lactantius, in the same spirit, declares, that "if any man thinks that apparel, precious stones, or the like, which are by us esteemed, are pleasaut or agreeable to God, undoubtedly he knoweth not the nature of God." Lib. vi. cap. 25.

thus resting all their pretensions to sanctity on a peculiar mode of dress and diet. Besides these, they ought to remember that two opinions are entertained by their divines respecting the natural presence of the Body of Christ at the Lord's Supper: for some of them affirm that at the Holy Communion they literally *eat* his flesh, others deny it: some say that the entire body of Christ is present in the Eucharist, this opinion also finds opponents: some again affirm that Christ consecrated the elements by a certain divine power, others contend it was by the act of blessing: some again by the conception of five * solemn words in his mind, others by uttering the same: some think that by the use of the demonstrative pronoun "THIS," being one of the five words Christ pronounced, the natural bread was pointed out, while others prefer construing it into † a vague and general expression without any reference to quantity or kind. They ought to remember that there are some among them who say that dogs and mice may really eat the Body of Christ; ‡ there are others who mani-

* Thomas.

† Gardiner.

‡ "It is a moste certaine, and undoubted Article of our Faith, that no Creature can eate the Body of Christe, but he

festly and resolutely deny it: there are some who say the very * *accidents* of bread and wine can afford nourishment; there are others who say the *substance* of the bread returns. Why should I add more? It were prolix and tedious to enumerate every thing. The whole form of this religion and doctrine, even among the founders and supporters of it, is enveloped in the clouds of uncertainty and dispute. They are seldom unanimous, except indeed like the Pharisees and Sadducees of old, or Herod and Pilate, in their opposition to Christ.

Let them therefore depart, and establish a uniform system of Religion among themselves.—Unity and Concord are the leading features of Christianity: by these alone however we cannot distinguish the Church of God. There was

that is a member of Christes body. 'This," saith St. Augustin, " is the eating of that meat, and the drinking of that drink, for a man to dwell in Christ, and to have Christ dwelling in him." Whosoever therefore will holde, that a *dogge*, or a *mouse* maie eate the very Body of Christe, and that really, and in deede, or whoso staggereth, or doubteth, whether it maie be so or no, Accursed be he.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 349.

* De consec. Dist. ii. Species. Glossa.

no want of unity among the worshippers of the Golden Calf; nor among those who with united voices cried out against our Saviour; Crucify him, Crucify him. Nor, although we observe the Corinthians torn by dissensions, a diversity of opinion existing between Paul and Peter, Barnabas and Paul; and the Primitive Christians at variance on some points of doctrine; are we therefore to conclude there was no Church of God among them. Those, whom our adversaries contemptuously denominate Zuinglians, and Lutherans, (but who in reality are Christians, united by the ties of friendship and fraternity,) do not differ respecting the principles and fundamental points of our religion, upon God, upon Christ, upon the Holy Spirit, upon the means of Justification, or Eternal Life: it is only upon one point, and that of no great weight and importance: nor do we despair, or rather we do not so much as doubt of the speedy restoration of concord;—and if there be any whose opinions are erroneous, we trust, that all party spirit and selfish views being abandoned, God will grant them ability to see the delusion under which they labour, so that, as in the Council of Chalcedon, the subject being fairly discussed,

all the roots and branches of discord may be eradicated, and cut off, and buried in the grave of everlasting oblivion. Amen.

But the charge they bring against us, that we are men of abandoned habits, and careless of religion, is indeed one of the most serious complexion: though in truth it should not much affect us; because they themselves who bring it know that it is scandalous and false. Justin Martyr tells us, that at the first preaching of the Gospel and open declaration of the name of Christ, all Christians were called Atheists! When Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, appeared before the tribunal of the Proconsul, the words by which the populace incited him to the massacre and destruction of every professor of the Gospel, were, * *Αἶρε τοὺς Ἀθέους*; that is, remove those impious men who do not acknowledge a God. Not that the Christians in reality denied God, but because they did not pay their adoration to stocks and stones, which then received the divine worship. But the world sees plainly enough what trials and sufferings we have endured at

* Euseb. lib. iv. cap. 15.

their hand for the sake of our religion and our God. Imprisonment, flames, and water have been our portion. They have wallowed in our blood, not because we were adulterers, robbers, murderers; but because we acknowledged the Gospel of Jesus Christ; because we put our whole trust and confidence in the living God; because, O gracious Father! we too truly, too justly complained, that by their vain traditions they had violated the divine Law; that these our adversaries, who have both wilfully and obstinately despised the commandments of God, were hostile to the Gospel, and enemies of the Cross of Christ.

But these men, as soon as they clearly perceived that our Doctrine could not fairly be impugned, made our Morals the subject of their invective: they accused us of condemning all Good Works; of opening the door to Licentiousness and Profligacy, and of seducing the people from the Paths of Virtue.

We must indeed confess that the lives of the most devout and pious Christians always were, and ever will be, liable to some exceptions, how-

ever pure and chaste their conversation may have been. And such is our natural propensity to evil, and the proneness of our minds to suspicion, that what was never either done or dreamt of, hath often been reported and credited as matter of fact. For as in the whitest garment the least stain is easily detected, so in the most spotless character is the slightest flaw without difficulty discovered. Neither do we consider all those who have embraced the doctrines of the Reformation as angels without spot or blemish; nor our opponents so blind, as not to observe whatever is blameable in us, however minute; nor so friendly, as to put a favourable construction on it; nor so ingenuous, as to look back upon themselves, and weigh our merits by their own. But then, if we diligently enquire into this matter from the beginning, we find that even in the times of the Apostles there were some Christians who caused the name of Christ to be blasphemed and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

The Emperor Constantine is related by Sozomen to have made heavy complaints, that many persons, after they had entered the Christian Church, became worse than they were before;

and St. Cyprian* thus bewails the corruptions of his own times: "The wholesome discipline, which the Apostles delivered unto us, a long period of ease and undisturbed repose has utterly destroyed; men are intent upon enlarging their possessions, and apply themselves with insatiable avarice to the improvement of their fortunes; wholly neglecting the examples of the early believers in the time of the Apostles, which ought on all occasions to be followed. There are now no devout priests—no sincere faith in the ministers—no compassion in works of mercy—no restraint in morals: men are become effeminate, and woman's beauty is counterfeit:" and before him, Tertullian exclaims in like sadness of spirit,—“Wo unto us who are now called Christians! We live the Lives of Heathens under that venerable name.”

But without reciting any more authorities we will conclude in the words of Gregory Nazienzen when describing the deplorable state of his own times: “We are now hated by the Heathen on account of our vices, and are become objects of

* De Lapsis.

derision and scorn, not only to men and angels, but even to the lowest infidel." Such was the state of the Church of God when the Light of the Gospel began first to shine upon it, when the fury of tyrants was not yet assuaged, or the sword diverted from the necks of Christians.— Surely then we ought not to be astonished, if men still remain men, though dignified by the name of Christians.

CHAP. IV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND VICES OF THE
POPES AND PAPISTS, AND OF THEIR VARIOUS IN-
TRIGUES, TO OBTAIN ECCLESIASTICAL SUPREMACY.

BUT whilst these men reflect so bitterly on our proceedings, why do they not sometimes cast a glance towards their own condition? Are they, who have so much leisure to attend to the affairs of far distant countries, and to watch so closely the state of Germany and England, so negligent, or wilfully blind as not to see what is done in Rome? Or are we to be calumniated, and abused by men whose lives and characters are so abandoned, that no one of honourable and upright principles can mention them without a blush?

It is not our intention at this period to revive the memory of all those crimes which are far better consigned with their perpetrators to oblivion. It becomes neither our Religion, nor the purity of our Moral Principles. He however who commands himself to be saluted as the

* Vicar of Christ, and Supreme Head of the Church may easily consider within himself the nature of those sins and corruptions which he is informed exist in Rome; † which he even sees, and to say the least, tolerates. Let him then reflect upon these circumstances, nor forget that they are his own Canonists who have taught the people that simple fornication is no sin:‡ as if they had borrowed that doctrine from the Micio of Terence, who affirms; “that it is not criminal in young men to associate with harlots.” Let him consider also that it was his party who pronounced that a Priest should not be sus-

* *Johannes de Magistris, de temperantia. iii. Quæst. 7. Lata extra de Bigamis. Quia Circa.*

† Petrarch, in one of his Epistles, calls Rome the Whore of Babylon; the Mother of Idolatry and Fornication; and declares that all shame and reverence is quite departed from her.

Petrarch. Epist. xx. et Cantil. xcii.

And Baptista Mantuanus has the following severe Epigram on this subject:

Vivere qui Sanctè cupitis, discedite Roma;
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum.

‡ Prodicus, Ætius, Laurentius Valla, and many others in Rome and Italy, publicly maintained this; a full account of which may be seen in the writings of Epiphanius, Victor, Socrates, &c. Moreover, in a volume of Popish Decrees, published at Paris, A. D. 1505, it is laid down as a regulation,—
‘Qui non habet uxorem, loco illius concubinam habere debet.’

pended for Fornication. Let him remember that Cardinal Campegius, Albertus Pigius, and many others of his friends have maintained, that the Priest who keeps a mistress lives a much more pious and chaste life * than he who is actually married. I hope he has not forgotten, that there are many thousands of public licensed strumpets in Rome, on whom he annually levies a tax to the amount of thirty thousand Ducats.† It cannot surely have escaped his memory, that he himself publicly exercises the office of a Pimp; and by this disgraceful traffic flagitiously augments his revenues and pleasures. Were all

* This may, at first, appear incredible to the Christian reader; but if he will consult the popish writers of the sixteenth century, he will find the same opinions fully discussed, and openly espoused by some of the most learned men of the age. In fact, this doctrine obtained such ground, that Pope Nicholas threatened to excommunicate the Bishop of Augusta, for opposing the prevailing sentiments of the age. And the Council of Wormes addressed a Remonstrance to Hildebrand, for his extreme rigour and tyranny—"quod scorta pudicibus conjugibus præfert." *Concil. Wormatien, ex Aventino.*

† Consult the books, de Constitut. Othonis, et de Concubinis Clericorum removendis. Cornelius Agrippa, Nicholaus de Clavengiis, &c. loudly complain of the enormity of these abuses, which are not attempted to be denied, even by the friends of Popery.

things conducted with piety and virtue in Rome; when * Joan, a woman of abandoned character, for the space of two years sat in the Papal Chair, and exercised supreme authority over the Church; prostituting herself to the lust of others:† and finally, during a public Procession, in the presence of all the Cardinals and Bishops, bringing forth a Child?

But why should we enumerate their panders, and harlots? for in Rome these are crimes of every day occurrence, and by no means unprofitable. Here these women do not retire beyond the gates of the City with their faces veiled, and covered, as in former times;‡ but inhabit stately palaces, and openly frequent the public

* *Statua ejusdem fœminæ parturientis adhuc Romæ est.*
A. D. 1683.

† Marianus Scotus, Martinus, Sabellicus, and Johannes de Parisiis, give authentic details of this woman's life, and exaltation to the Papal Chair, and completely refute the ridiculous assertions made by Mr. Harding, in his attack upon this Apology, who attempted to prove, from the writings of the Romish Doctors, that she never was absolutely Pope. This subject is learnedly discussed, and all the accusations here brought against the Papists, fully established by Bishop Jewell, in his admirable Defence, p. 357. 490.

‡ Genesis xxxviii. 14, 15.

places of resort: as if their course of life, far from being disgraceful, was praiseworthy and meritorious.* But enough on this head. Their profligate lives are thoroughly known to the whole world. St. Bernard† thus freely and unreservedly censures not only the Pope's family, but the Pope himself;—"Your Palace receiveth good men, but maketh none; the wicked thrive there, the virtuous are neglected." And the author who wrote the Tripartite work annexed to the Lateran Council says; "It is shocking to relate to how great an extent luxury prevails, not only amongst the inferior Clergy and Priests, but also with the Prelates and Bishops.

These proceedings moreover are not only common with them, and for that reason (like all their other crimes) approved by custom and long practice, but are now waxed old, and ripe for judgment. For who has not heard what a heinous crime ‡ Peter Aloisius, the Son of Pope Paul the Third, committed against Cosmus Cherius Bishop of Fano? In what disgusting,

* In concilio delectorum Cardinalium, tom. iii.

† De consideratione ad Eugenium.

‡ Johan. Sleidanus, lib. xix.

though eloquent language John Casa, Archbishop of Beneventum, the Pope's Legate at Venice, wrote in commendation of crimes the most loathsome and detestable. Who knows not that * Alphonso Diazius, a Spaniard, was dispatched from Rome into Germany to assassinate that most innocent and holy man, John Diazius, his own brother, merely because he had embraced the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and refused to return to Rome? and this dreadful crime the remorseless ruffian absolutely perpetrated!!! They may perhaps answer, that circumstances of this nature will sometimes occur in the best constituted governments, and that salutary laws are enacted against them.

We are willing to allow this; but then let us ask, by what laws, by what penalties, have these wretches been condemned? Peter Aloisius, after the nefarious attempt above alluded to, was sheltered in the bosom of his Father, Paul the third, with the most parental tenderness. Diazius was shielded from the vengeance of these *salutary* laws by the interposition of the Pope;

* Johan Sleidanus, lib. xvii. This occurrence took place in the year 1546.

even after he had murdered his own Brother: John Casa, Archbishop of Beneventum, * still lives, nay more, resides at Rome, and dwells in his Palace and under the immediate eye of his Holiness. They have slain infinite numbers of our brethren solely because they believed the true and uncorrupted precepts of Jesus Christ. But of that nest of harlots, adulterers, and whoremongers, who, (I will not say has been punished with death, but who) has suffered excommunication, or even penance? Are these fornications, adulteries, lewdnesses, parricides, incest, and all other deadly sins countenanced in Rome? If not, why are they tolerated in a City professedly the Bulwark of Righteousness; and by *the Pope, the Vicar of Christ, the Successor of St. Peter: That most Holy Father?*†

Oh holy Scribes and Pharisees, to whom this Sanctity was unknown! Oh Holiness, and Catho-

* A. D. 1561.

† Andreas Alciatus, in his Epistle prefixed to the Life of Paulus Jovius, enters fully into this subject, as does Jovius himself, in his Life of Clement VII. both of whom bare ample testimony to the justice of the Sarcasms levelled throughout this Chapter, at the vices which disgraced the See of Rome.

lic Faith! St. Peter taught not these doctrines at Rome: such was not the course of life pursued by St. Paul: they indulged not in these vile practices: the Wages of the Harlot were no source of Revenue to them. They did not suffer adulterers and parricides to escape unpunished; but rejected all intercourse with, and excommunicated them from the Congregation of true Christians. Our adversaries therefore ought not to have cast such violent reflections on our lives. They would have acted more wisely, had they first cleared themselves in the eyes of the world, or at least have been *rather* more circumspect in their own conduct.

We, for our parts, are still regulated by those old laws which were held in such reverence by our ancestors, and, as far as the corruption of the times will allow, adhere strictly to the discipline of the Church. We have no common brothels, no public receptacle for the resort of Harlots and profligates; we prefer not Adultery to Marriage; we are no panders who enrich ourselves with the wages of Iniquity; nor do we suffer incestuous and abandoned wretches, the Aloisii, the Casas, the fratricidal Diazios, to escape the punishment

due to their guilt: for if these proceedings had met our approbation, we need not have encountered hatred, persecution, and even death, by withdrawing ourselves from all communion with those, who not only countenanced, but absolutely patronized such enormities. It is not many months * since Paul the IV. committed to prison some Monks of the Augustine order, many Bishops, and a great number of other pious men, on account of their Religion. He subjected them to the torture, exposed them on the Rack, and left nothing untried to extort a confession: and after all, how many profligates, how many adulterers, how many fornicators, how many persons of abandoned character did he discover amongst them?—Thanks be to our gracious God, though we are not as perfect as we ought and profess to be, yet, whatever our errors, when compared with our traducers, the whole tenor of our lives and innocence of our habits will easily refute their Slanders: for we exhort the people to all Virtue and Godliness of life, not only by the distribution of Books, and the preaching of the Word of God, but by our own behaviour and

* A. D. 1560.

moral conduct. We teach that the Gospel is not the Ostentation of knowledge, but the Law and Rule of life; and that, as * Tertullian expresseth it; “ A Christian ought not to speak in boastful terms of his profession, but to live strictly conformable to its precepts,” for the doers of the Law, not the hearers only, are justified before God.†

Not content with heaping these accusations upon us, they are wont to add with virulent abuse that we are guilty of rebellion and sedition; that we tear the Sceptre from the hands of Kings, and arm the people against them; arrest the course of justice, and defy the laws, have no respect to the rights of individuals, are anxious to introduce a democratic form of Government, involve every thing in confusion, and, in a word, destroy the Stability of all Kingdoms and Empires. ‡ Oh how often have they by such insinuations inflamed the minds of Princes against us, and instilled into their bosoms an aversion to our religion before they understood its princi-

* In Apologet. cap. xlv. † Rom. ii. 13.

‡ Tertullian in Apolog. 1, 2, et 3.

ples: hoping thereby to stifle the Reformation at its birth; and induce every magistrate to look upon us with an eye of suspicion as his secret but deadly enemies.

It would have been a source of the greatest affliction to us to have been accused of Treason, had we not known that Christ himself, and his Apostles, with many other pious and upright Christians have from time to time been subjected to the same imputation, and in like manner held up to public scorn and contempt: for although Christ commanded “to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar’s,” * yet he was accused of sedition, of revolutionary designs, and of aspiring to the throne, and with this crime he was loudly charged before the tribunal of Pilate †—“*If thou let this man go, thou art not Cæsar’s friend.*” And the Apostles, (although they unceasingly taught obedience to the Magistrates, and that every soul should be subject to the *Higher powers*, ‡ and that not only through fear of incurring the vengeance of the offended law, but for conscience sake,) were nevertheless

* Matt. xxii. 21.

† John xix. 12.

‡ Rom. xiii. 1.

stigmatized as disseminating factious principles, and exciting the populace to rebellion. Haman* rendered the Jews obnoxious to King Ahasuerus by representing them as a stubborn and rebellious people, who despised the laws and edicts of Princes. The wicked King Ahab charged Elijah the Prophet of God, saying; † “ *Thou art he that disturbeth Israel.*” Amaziah the priest of Bethel accused the Prophet Amos of Conspiracy before Jeroboam; ‡ *And behold saith he, Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words.* In short, Tertullian declares, that in his time this was the general accusation against all Christians; that they were traitors, rebels, and the common enemies of the human race. § If therefore Truth, which is still unchanged, labours under the same persecutions as it ever has done, although the burden may be grievous and the reproach discouraging, no new trials, no unheard of labours await its advocates and Professors.

It was no difficult task forty years ago to

* Esther iii. 8, &c.

† 1 Kings xviii. 17.

‡ Amos vii. 10.

§ In Apologet. cap. xxxvii.

establish these, and even more weighty charges against us, when the first Rays of unknown Truth faintly shone in the midst of the surrounding darkness, and few persons had heard even the nature of our doctrines. When Martin Luther, and Hulderic Zuinglius, those most excellent men, who were given by God to enlighten the world, first began to preach the Gospel; when the subject was new, and the event involved in obscurity; when the minds of men were torn and distracted by conflicting opinions, and their ears open to every species of calumny; in those days (I repeat) it was impossible to propagate any slanderous report, or circulate any disgraceful anecdote respecting us, which would not, even from the novelty and strangeness of the circumstance, find easy credit with the unstable and inconstant multitude. This line of conduct was pursued in the earliest stages of the Christian Religion, by Symmachus, Celsus, the Apostate Julian,* and Porphyry: they represented the

* Celsus affirmed that the Christian Faith took its rise amongst a Barbarous people, meaning thereby from the Jews, whom Cicero calls also a nation born to Bondage.

Origen contra Celsum, lib. i.

And Chrysostom, speaking of the Apostate Julian, relates

primitive Christians as a seditious and rebellious Sect; before either Princes or people knew who or what Christians were, the nature of their profession, the object of their worship, or the end they had in view. But now, when our adversaries observe, and indeed are unable to deny, that in all our discourses and writings the people are diligently reminded of their duty, that loyalty to their Princes, and obedience to the Magistrates, however wickedly inclined, is duly and strictly enforced and inculcated; (the truth of which assertions experience confirms, and the observation of all men of all nations clearly and

that in his Proclamations, instead of Christians, he scornfully called us Galileans.

Chrysost. contra Gentes.

“The sounde of this simple, barbarous, despised people, was hearde throughout the whole worlde. The Lorde God causeth his light to shine out of the dark :* his Holy Spirite breatheth where he thinketh good: he hath no regarde of Personnes, or choice of places, but, as St. Peter † saide unto Cornelius, In every nation, whosoever feareth him, and workketh righteousness, is accepted befores him. ‡ God chuseth the weake thinges of the worlde, to confounde the stronge. Goddes holy name be blessed, that of so little, and so simple a despised mustard seede, hath now raised up so greate a tree: and triumpheth the Gospel of Christe his Sonne in every place throughout the worlde.” *The Defence of the Apologie, p. 391.*

* Psalm xviii. 26.

† Acts x. 34, 35.

‡ 1 Cor. i. 27.

indisputably proves;) this being an undoubted fact, the exertions which they have used to bring us into contempt by the repetition of stale lies and unfounded aspersions, when they have no new crimes and misdemeanours to allege against us, must subject them to the charge of being foul and odious calumniators.

We bless our most gracious God, whose only cause this is, that no example of Insurrection and Rebellion has ever been discovered in any of those kingdoms, principalities, or commonwealths which have embraced the Reformation. We have not subverted any Monarchy; we have not curtailed the authority of any Prince; we have not excited sedition in any Republic. The Kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden—the Dukes of Saxony—the Counts of the Palatinate—the Marquesses of Brandenburg—the Landgraves of Hesse—the Swiss Cantons, and the free Cities of Strasburgh, Basle, Frankfort, Ulm, Augsburgh, and Nurembergh, all enjoy the same privileges, and exercise the same authority as before the Reformation; or rather we ought to say, are in a more flourishing condition: the people being now far better instructed in the

duty of obedience to their Governors and Magistrates.* Let our traducers visit those countries where, through God's blessing, the Reformation is established: where will they find the Majesty of Kings more respected?† Where does there exist less Pride and Tyranny? Where is the Monarch received with equal Devotion and Loy-

* It had been infinitely for the Honor of the Reformation, if the same modesty, loyalty, and duty, had ever attended the Professors of it. But, alas, our Author lived and wrote in a critical moment, before the Scotch tumults, the civil wars of France, and the revolt of the Netherlands; those that have confirmed the truth of the Popish objections, by ill principles which they borrowed from them, and worse practices, would do well to consider what answer they shall give in the day of judgment, for the sin and scandal they have brought upon the Reformation; but when all is done, blessed be God, the Church of England and her Children have maintained this doctrine inviolably, and the Honour of the Church thereby unspotted to this day, though she has suffered very much for her fidelity and loyalty.

Editor's Note to Edition, 1685.

† "In public prayers they recommend to God all Princes in generall, and the Magistrates of this our native Realme in particular. In open audience they declare the authority of Princes and Magistrates to be of God, and therefore they affirm that they ought to be honoured, feared, and obeyed, even for conscience sake, provided they command nor require nothing expressly repugning to God's commandment and plain will revealed in his Holy Word."

History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 179. Lond. Ed. 1644.

alty? Where are the Populace less addicted to Riot? Where, in a word, does the Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, enjoy greater Tranquillity?

It may perhaps be urged, that, from the first preaching of this doctrine, the lower orders throughout Germany have been in a state of tumultuous insurrection. What then? Did not Martin Luther, who first disseminated these principles, and laid the foundation of this establishment, violently attack them in his writings, and * reduce them to their allegiance and duty?

Some ignorant men have indeed brought forward as an argument against us the Revolution in Switzerland; when Leopold the Archduke of Austria was slain, and the liberty of the Cantons established. This event however took place (as

* Martin Luther, as cited by Sleidanus, says, " God commands all men universally to obey the Magistrates, with fear and reverence;" and in another passage adds, in speaking of the Rebels who were then in open insurrection in many parts of Germany, " Ye take the sword, and withstand the authority of the Magistrate, whom God hath appointed. Is not this rashly to abuse the name of God?" *Johan Sleidanus*, lib. v.

all Historians agree,) above two hundred and sixty years before, under Pope Boniface VIIIth; when the greatest deference was paid to the Papal authority; full two hundred years before Hulderic Zuinglius began to preach the Gospel, or was even born. But from that period up to the present day they have uniformly enjoyed a state of the most perfect tranquillity, both in relation to foreign wars and intestine commotions; so that if it were a crime to deliver their Country from a Foreign Yoke, when exposed to the utmost Tyranny and Oppression; still it is both unjust, and malicious to stigmatize us with the crimes of others, or visit the sins of their forefathers upon the present generation.

But oh eternal God! shall the Roman Pontiff accuse us of Treason? *Will he pretend to teach the people Subjection, and Obedience to Magistrates? Or has he any regard to the Ma-

* How far the Popes were accustomed to practise the humility they pretended to inculcate, may be fully comprehended, if we consider the assertion of Cardinal Francisco Zarabella,—“The Pope,” says this enlightened and *unpretending Christian*, “acts according to his wishes, although they be unlawful, and is greater than God himself,” *Zarabella's Works.*

jesty of Kings? Why then does he suffer himself to be stiled by his servile parasites, * LORD OF LORDS! (which none of the ancient Roman Bishops ever allowed), as if he considered all Kings and Princes, however remote their dominions, however extended their authority, as his Vassals and Slaves? Why does he exalt himself as † KING OF KINGS; and claim dominion over them as his subjects? Why does he compel both Emperors and Monarchs to swear fealty to him? Why does he boast that the Emperor's Majesty is a ‡ thousand-fold inferior to his; and that, because God placed two lights in the firmament; and because heaven and earth were not created at two distinct periods, but had one

* It would be well if the Successors of Gregory the Great, in the Pontifical Chair, would call to mind the words of that illustrious man, when addressing the Emperor Maurice on a similar subject; namely, the assumption of *Universal Authority* by the Bishop of Constantinople;—"Your Majesty must restrain him, who thus attacks the immunities of the holy Universal Church; who puffeth himself up with pride; who desireth to enjoy a title of superior eminence; who, moreover, by a private assumption of dignity, (calling himself the sovereign Bishop) exalts himself above the honour of your Empire."

Gregorius, lib. iv. Epist. 32.

† Augustus Steuchus. Antonius de Rosellis, &c.

‡ De Major. et obed. solit.

simple origin? Why hath he and his followers, like the Anabaptists and Libertines, that they might indulge in greater crimes and excesses, exempted themselves from the jurisdiction of the Civil powers?*

Why has he his Legates, † those crafty Spies, as it were in ambush in the Courts, Councils, and Chambers of Kings? Why does he (to promote his own individual interest,) excite discord amongst Princes; and for his own nefarious purposes distract the world with civil wars? Why does he proscribe, and condemn as Heretical and Pagan, every Monarch who withdraws himself from the sphere of his dominion; and promise absolution to *any* man who will by *any* means rid him of his adversaries? Is he the main support of Empires and Monarchies, or rather,

* De Major. et obedien. Unam Sanctam. vi.

† The Character of these worthy disciples of a worthy Lord, appears to have been duly appreciated by Camotensis.—“Legati Papæ ita debacchantur in Provinciis, ac si, ad flagellandam Ecclesiam, Satan egressus esset a facie Domini.” Which may be thus rendered, “The Rage of the Pope’s Legates is so unrestrained in all Countries, that it appears as if Satan had gone out before the face of God to scourge the Church.”

Agrippa de Vanitate Scientiarum.

does he in the least degree promote public peace and happiness? We trust our readers will pardon us if our language appears more severe and vituperative than Christian forbearance authorizes; but such is our indignation, so insatiable, so oppressive is the ambition of the Pope, though happily curbed and restrained in its career, that greater forbearance, or milder expressions could not convey our feelings on the subject; for he had the insolence to affirm in a public Council, "*That all the authority of all the Kings in the world depended upon him alone :*" * and to gratify his ambition, and thirst of dominion, involved the Roman Empire in a destructive war, and promoted dissensions throughout Christendom. With characteristic perfidy he absolved the Italians, and subjects of the Roman Empire, including himself, from their oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Greece; invited his subjects to revolt from him; and, by a newly usurped and unauthorized stretch of authority, placed Charles Martel the Great, whom he had called from France into Italy, upon the Imperial

* Clemens V. in Concilio Viennensi. Leo Papa iii. Platina in vitâ ejus.

throne. From personal dislike he deposed *Chilperic, King of France; a Prince of unblemished character; and in his stead placed †Pepin on the Throne: and would, if it had been practicable, have ejected Philip the Fair from his dominions, and preferred Albert King of the Romans to the throne of France. He utterly destroyed the prosperity of that beautiful, and most flourishing Republic, Florence, though his native country; and changing its independent and peaceable form of Government, delivered it up to the tyranny of a ‡Despot. By his intrigues he rendered the whole of Savoy an object of plunder to Charles V. on the one side, and the § French king on the other; so that the wretched Duke had scarcely one City left in which to || shelter himself.

* Zacharias Papa.

† Marsilii Patavini Chronicon, and Paulus Æmilius, lib. ii.

‡ Clemens VII. Papa. § Francis I.

|| A full account of these various occurrences may be found in Rycaut's Lives of the Popes, Guicciardini's History of Italy, Robertson's Charles V. and all other works which treat of this period of History. See also, *Nic. Saunders, de Origine et Progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, and Bishop Jewell's *Defence of his Apology*, against the malevolent attacks of Harding, Dorman, and others, p. 391. 407.

I am however weary of examples, for nothing can be more tedious than the enumeration of all the notorious actions of the Popes. Of what party were they who poisoned the Emperor Henry VIIIth in the Communion? * Who did the same to Pope Victor in the Holy Chalice? Who mingled the deadly cup which was presented to John, King of England, † at the festive

* The poisoning of the Emperor Henry of Lucenbergh in the sacrament the Papists are very anxious to disprove; but the truth of this atrocious crime is too faithfully recorded by the writers of the day to be refuted. Urspergensis thus describes it:—"Quidam Religiosus porrexit Imperatori intoxicatam Eucharistiam, &c." A certain religious man (a monk) administered unto the Emperor the Sacrament poisoned. The Emperor having received it, and returned to his place, felt as though an Ice-bolt had passed through him.

Paralipom. Ursper. Anno 1313.

Baptista Ignatius says, that it was effected through the policy of Robert, King of Sicily; who, according to Aventinus, was urged to undertake it by Pope Clement V. This fact is also recorded by Carion, in *Supplemento Chronicorum*, by Ravisius Textor, and many others.

Textor in Officina Veneno extincti.

Consult the Defence of the Apologie, p. 408., where also will be found full particulars of the other atrocities, mentioned in this chapter.

† Pope Innocent decreed that King John should be deposed from his throne, and enjoined the execution thereof to the French King for remission of his Sins; promising him faithfully that if he did so, he and his Successors should enjoy the King-

board? Of whatever Sect or Party they were, it is certain they were neither Zuinglians nor Lutherans. Who at this day suffers the most puissant Monarchs and mighty Kings to kiss his *Holy feet*? Who commands the Emperor to hold his Bridle, and the King of France his Stirrup? Who was it that cast Francis Dandolo, Doge of Venice, King of Crete and Cyprus, bound in chains beneath his table, and compelled him to devour the bones with his dogs?* Who with his feet, not his hands placed the diadem on the head of the Emperor Henry VI. at Rome; † and then with his foot spurned it from the brow of the abject monarch, declaring that he possessed the power of creating and deposing Emperors? Who armed the Son of the Emperor Henry IV. against his Father; and caused the Parent to fall into the hands of his own child; ‡ who having shaved his head, and treated him with the most revolting indignity, confined him in a monastery where sorrow and hunger shortly ter-

dom of England for ever. *Matthew Paris, Anno. 1811.*—
 “So mutche,” observes Bishop Jewell, is Englande bounde to reverence, and obeie the Pope.”

* Papa Sabellicus. † Papa Cœlestinus.

‡ Papa Hildebrandus.

minated his miserable existence? Who in the insolence of Pride placed his foot on the neck of the Emperor Frederic? * and, as if that were not sufficient insult, recited from the † Psalms of David,—“*Thou shalt go upon the Lion and adder; the young lion and the dragon shalt thou tread under thy feet.* ‡ Where is there such another example of despised and injured Majesty on record, except that of Tamerlane the Scythian, a fierce and barbarous tyrant, and of Sapor, King of Persia? § All these were Popes! all Successors of St. Peter! all most Holy Men, whose every word was by us to be considered Gospel!!! ||

* Alexander III. Papa.

† Psalm xci. 13.

‡ The whole of this disgraceful outrage is represented on the walls of St. Mark's Church, at Venice, and reflects eternal dishonour on the Emperor for his abject servility, and is a lasting record of Popish Insolence and Pride. The Emperor, it is related, declared that he prostrated himself before St. Peter, not before the Pope; “before * both ME and St. Peter,” exclaimed the haughty Prelate, exalting himself above the Holy Apostle.

Carionis Opera.

§ See Gibbon's History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Aurelius Victor. Pomponius Lætus, &c. &c.

|| *Episcopi veluti in aliqua sublimi specula constituti, vix dignantur videre mortales, et alloqui conservos suos.*

S. Hieronymus Epistolà. ad Galat. cap. iv.

Rex superbiæ in foribus est—the King of Pride is ever at hand, says Gregory.

Lib. iv. Epist. 38.

* Et MIHI, et Petro.

If we are guilty of Treason who reverence our Princes, who submit to them in all things as far as the Word of God allows, who pray for their prosperity and happiness; in what light must those men be considered, who not only have perpetrated all the crimes above mentioned, but have also extolled them as generous actions? Is it in this manner the people are by them instructed to reverence their Magistrates? Or can they without a blush accuse us of being seditious persons; disturbers of the public peace; contemners of the Majesty of Kings? We have shaken off no yoke, embroiled no kingdoms in civil wars, revolutionized no Empires: we present not the poisoned Chalice to our Monarchs; we compel them not to salute our feet, nor insultingly trample on their necks. Our Doctrine, our Profession is far different. We declare that every one,* whether Monk or Evangelist, Prophet or Apostle, ought to be subject to Kings and Magistrates: and that therefore the † Pope himself

* Chrysostom in xiii. ad Romanos.

† That this submission to the temporal authority of the reigning Emperor, was universally acknowledged even by the Popes themselves, we learn from a Letter of Pope Gregory to the Emperor Maurice: *Ecce per me servum ultimum suum, et*

(unless he would appear greater than the Evangelists, Prophets, and Apostles,) ought, as the ancient Popes in better times always did, to acknowledge and salute the Emperor as his temporal Superior.* We publicly maintain that Princes are to be obeyed as Men sent by God: and that *whosoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God.*† These are our Doctrines; these the Principles set forth in our Books, our Sermons, our Lives; and which are clearly manifested in the modest and dutiful behaviour of our people.

With respect to the charge of having separated ourselves from the Unity of the Catholic Church, this is malicious in a two-fold degree, because, although decidedly false, it carries with it a certain shew and appearance of Truth: and with the ignorant multitude, those circumstances, which bear the stamp of probability, often obtain more

vestrum, respondebit Christus: Sacerdotes meos manui tuæ commisi, &c.—Ego quidem vestræ jussioni subjectus, &c. where he declares himself the Emperor's Servant, and subject to his commands—and he afterwards adds, That Christ has given the Emperor dominion, not only over Soldiers, but over Priests.

Greg. Lib. iii. Epist. 61. et 64.

* Gregorius in Epistolis passim. † Romans xiii. 2.

implicit credit than real undoubted facts. On this account we find that crafty designing men, who have not Truth on their sides, always support their cause by arguments which have some colour of probability, and which may possibly convince the shallow observer, who does not devote his whole attention to the subject. Because our Forefathers, the Primitive Christians, turned their faces toward the East when in the act of Prayer, they were accused by some persons of worshipping the Sun as their GOD: * and when they asserted that, as to their Eternal and Immortal Life, they were solely refreshed and sustained by the Flesh and Blood of the Lamb without Spot; meaning thereby our Saviour Jesus Christ; Envious men, the Enemies of the Cross of Christ, † whose only object was to bring the Christian Religion into Contempt, thereupon persuaded the multitude that the Christians were an impious race of men: that they offered up Human Sacrifices, and drank the Blood of their Victims. And when they said that with God there is neither Male nor Female,

* Tertull. in Apolog. cap. xvi.

† Tertull. in Apologet. cap. vii. viii. ix.

meaning, that as to obtaining Justification there is no Distinction of Persons; and were wont to salute each other by the title of Brother or Sister, some evil disposed persons were not wanting who made these circumstances the foundation of further calumnies; asserting that the Christians had no distinctions amongst them of sex or age; but like beasts promiscuously cohabited together.* And because they frequently met together in Vaults and Secret Places (as had formerly been the practice of Conspirators against the Government,) to Pray and Hear the Gospel Read, Reports were circulated that they held secret consultations against the State; and had it in contemplation to Assassinate the Magistrates, and subvert the Government. And because in celebrating the Holy Communion they made use of Bread and Wine, according to the † Institution of Christ himself, they were thought

* Tertull. in Apolog. cap. xxxix.

† Sacerdos noster in æternum, secundum ordinem Melchisedech, qui semet ipsum obtulit holocaustum pro peccatis nostris; et ejus sacrificii similitudinem celebrandam in suæ passionis Memoriam commendavit. Christ is our Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech, who hath offered himself a Sacrifice for our Sins; and hath delivered unto us a similitude or likeness of that sacrifice, to be done in Remem-

by many not to worship Christ, * but Bacchus and Ceres; because those deities, during the time of Pagan Superstition, were worshipped with a similar rite of bread and wine. These aspersions were believed by many, not because they were true, (for what could possibly be less so) but because, through a certain resemblance and shadow of Truth, they were calculated to deceive the incautious observer.

In this manner they calumniate us as Heretics, who have departed from the Catholic Church and the communion of Christ: not that they believe this to be true, (for that is not their object) but because they think ignorant persons may be persuaded to put some faith in their slanderous accusations. We have indeed separated ourselves; though not like Heretics from the Church of Christ, but as every good man ought, from the contagion of wicked and abandoned Hypocrites.

brance of his Passion. Thus far St. Augustin, to which he adds in another place, "Christ hath given a type or image of that Sacrifice, to be kept in the Church in Remembrance of his Passion, that he might be a Priest for ever; not after the order of Aaron, but after the order of Melchisedech."

Augustinus, in lib, quæstionum lxxiii. qu. 61.

* St. Augustin, contra Faust. lib. xx. cap. 18.

To them however notwithstanding this is a source of the proudest exultation. They triumphantly boast that their's is THE Church: The Spouse of Christ: The Pillar of Truth: The Ark of Noah; without the pale of which there is no Hope of Salvation: whilst on the other hand they with equal assurance assert, that we have rent asunder the Vesture of Christ, violently torn ourselves from his Body, and apostatized from the Catholic Faith. But after all the false and malicious imputations which their envy and hatred has propagated against us, they are still unable to prove that we have forsaken either the Word of God, the Apostles of Christ, or the Primitive Church,

We have ever considered the Primitive Church of Christ, of his Apostles and the Holy Fathers, to be the Catholic Church: nor do we hesitate to pronounce it The Ark of Noah; the Spouse of Christ; the Pillar and Foundation of Truth; on which alone all our Hopes of Salvation rest. It is undoubtedly a disgraceful thing to break off all connection with a party whose views we may hitherto have forwarded, especially when they (although without the least title) affect to

be, and are absolutely called Christians. The fact however is, that we have been unwillingly compelled to separate ourselves from them; but still we do not hold their Church, corrupt as it now is, in utter contempt, having respect to it for its Name sake, and remembering that the Pure Faith and genuine Doctrine of the Gospel of Christ was once taught in it. Suppose however that an Idol is set up in the Church of God, and that the Desolation foretold by Christ* should stand openly in the Holy Place? What if some Pirate or Robber should sieze upon the Ark of Noah? † *These men* undoubtedly, as often as they mention the Church allude to themselves alone as constituting it; and arrogate to themselves all those Titles: triumphing like the men of old who ex-

* Matt. xxiv. 15.

† St. Paule saithe, Antichriste shal sitte in the Church of God, and shewe himsele above al that is worshipped, or called God: that is to saie, Beinge a Theefe, and a Pirate, he shal enter perforce into Noe's Arke.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 434.

He is Antichrist, saith St. Gregory, that shall claim the appellation of the Universal Bishop, and have a Guard of Priests to attend him.

Greg. lib. iv. Epist. 38.

Irenæus declares that "although Antichrist is but a slave, he is still desirous of being worshipped as a God.

Iren. lib. v. cap. penult.

claimed; * *The Temple of the Lord, The Temple of the Lord*; or like the Scribes and Pharisees, when they boasted that they were the Children† of Abraham.

Thus, with vain shows and idle splendor, do they impose upon simple men; and strive to overwhelm us with the bare name of the Church: as if a Robber, having obtained possession of another man's house, and either forcibly expelled or slain the proprietor, should thereupon claim it as his own, and refuse to yield it up to the lawful heir:‡ or as if Antichrist, after he had seized upon the Church of God, should pretend that it was his own, and that Christ had no connection with it. For although our adversaries have left nothing like a § Church in

* Jeremiah vii. 4.

† John viii. 39.

‡ St. Augustin has a similar observation on this same subject, *Non tamen propter hos remanebit Christus sine Hæreditate, &c.* Yet shall not Christ, because of the wicked, remain without his inheritance. *Augustin, in Psalm lxxxviii.*

§ It would be well for the Papists who rely so much on the infallibility of the Pope, and consider, as saith St. Cyprian, that "agreeing with the Bishop of Rome is the Unity of the Catholic Church:" to attend to the words of Bishop Jewell. *Hearken to the voice of our Lorde; put nothing to His Worde: take nothing from the same: turne neither to the right hande,*

the Church of God, still they wish to be considered the only Patrons and Defenders of that Establishment: precisely as Gracchus formerly defended the Roman Exchequer when by profuse largesses, and a prodigal expenditure, he had dissipated all the Resources of the Treasury. But then there never was any thing, however absurd and wicked, that could not be concealed and protected under the name of the *Church*: for even Wasps have combs, and Infidels their assemblies not unlike the Church of God; notwithstanding, they are not all the People of God who are called the People of God; nor are they all Israelites who are of Israel. The *Arian Heretics boasted that they were the only true Catholics, and stigmatized all others as Ambrosians, Athanasians, or Johannites: † and Theodoret informs us that Nestorius, though an undoubted Heretic, sheltered himself under the cloak of Orthodoxy,

nor to the leaſte. So ſhall ye be ſure, ye ſhall not erre, for as ſaith the Prophet, Your Priests ſhall be amazed, and your Prophets ſhall be at their Wits End; The Law ſhall periſh from the Priest; and wiſdom ſhall be wanting in the Elders. Ye ſhall have night inſtead of a Viſion; and darkneſs inſtead of Propheſy.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 436.

* Auguſtin, in Sermone Contra Arian.

† Auguſtin, Epist. xlviii. ad Vincentium.

ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι.* Ebion, though of the same opinion as the Samaritans, was still, according to Epiphanius, desirous of being called a Christian; and the Mahometans in our time, although it is evident from all Histories, that they derive their origin from Hagar the Bond woman, (which indeed their own writers have not attempted to deny,) still, for the sake of the Name and Race, prefer the appellation of *Saracens*: as if they were descendents of *Sarah* the free woman, and wife of Abraham.

Such was also the practice of the false Prophets who opposed themselves to the Prophets of God; to Isaiah, Jeremiah, Christ, and the Apostles: their chief boast was the Name of the Church; and on this account alone they fiercely persecuted and branded as Renegades and Apostates all who withdrew themselves from their society,† and refused obedience to the or-

* Epiphanius, lib. 1. Hære. 30. and Sozomen, lib. vi. cap. 38.

† When Christe mourned over the citie, and temple of Jerusalem, or when he saide, “Ye have made my Father’s howse a denne of theeves:” and when Esaie saide, “O howe is this bewtiful Citie (that then was the Churche of God) become an harlot?” Or, when the Prophete Hieremie saide, “who wil geve an abundance of water unto myne eies, that I maie

dinances of the Elders. But if we are inclined to place implicit confidence in the judgment of those men who at that time presided over the Church, and regard neither God, nor his word, in that case; inasmuch as they departed from the Chief Priests and the whole Sacerdotal Order, to wit, from the Catholic Church as then existing; and introduced various innovations in Religion against the manifest disapprobation, and direct opposition of the Priesthood; it must be confessed that the Apostles lawfully and justly suffered death.

Wherefore, as it is reported of Hercules, that he was compelled to raise Antæus from his Mother Earth before he could overcome him; in like manner must our adversaries be torn from this Mother of theirs, namely the vain Pretence and Shadow of the Church, under whose protec-

moourne daie and night for the sinnes of my people," wee maie not thinke, that Christe, Esaie, and Hieremie were defacers of the Church. He hindereth not healthe, that sheweth the disease: He despiseth not the Church, that setteth Christe before the Church. The Church is our Mother: but Christe saithe, whosoever loveth his Father and Mother, more than mee, is not meete to be my disciple.

Bishop Jewell's Answer to Hardinge's Preface.

tion they shelter themselves; otherwise they will never be induced to yield even to the Word of God. Do not then, as saith the Prophet Jeremiah, boast that you have the Temple of God with you; your assurance is vain; *for these are lying words*:* and the Angel in the Revelations says, *they affirm that they are Jews, but they are the Synagogue of Satan*:† and when the Pharisees boasted that they were of the family and blood of Abraham, Christ exclaimed, ‡ *Ye are of your Father the Devil*, for ye resemble not your Father Abraham: as if he had said, “Ye are not that which ye are so anxious to appear;” you impose upon the people with Vain Titles, and abuse the name of the Church for its destruction. Our opponents ought in the first place therefore, clearly and indisputably to have proved that the Church of Rome is the True and Orthodox Church of God; and that it agrees under its present form of government with the Primitive Church of Christ, the Apostles, and the Holy Fathers: which Primitive Church we have no doubt was the Catholic Church. We indeed are ready to acknowledge that there would have

* Jeremiah vii. 4.

† Revel. ii. 9.

‡ John viii. 44.

been no just grounds for separating from them if we could once have persuaded ourselves that Ignorance, Error, Superstition, Idolatry, the Vain Conceits of men, which moreover are frequently at complete variance with the Holy Scriptures, were either acceptable in the sight of God, or in any way conducive to our Salvation: or if we could, for a moment, have believed that the Word of God was merely intended to prevail for a few years, and then become a “thing of nought:” or in a word, that the Commandments and Laws of God were subjected to the caprice of human authority; and that unless HIS precepts and decrees met the approbation of the Pope they were to be considered as null and void.

We affirm then, that in withdrawing ourselves from that Church whose errors were so glaring as to attract universal attention, and which had already publicly disclaimed the Authority of the Word of God, we have done nothing contrary to Christ or his Apostles; for in fact we have not so much departed from *her* as from her *Errors*; and this too in the most sober and quiet manner; having made no attempts whatever to excite a feeling of disrespect or hostility against our ad-

versaries. But neither is the Church of God so pure that no error can ever possibly creep into her doctrines, as never to require Reformation: for if that were the case, of what utility were all those general Councils and Assemblies without which, according to * Ægidius, the Christian Religion could not stand? for, he observes, as often as Councils are discontinued, so often is the Church destitute of Christ. Or, again, if no fears could reasonably be entertained for the welfare of the Church, why retain the useless name of Bishop, which at this time prevails so much with them? For why are they called *Shepherds*, if there are no Sheep to go astray? Why *Watchmen*, if there is no City which can be betrayed? Why *Pillars*, if there is nothing which requires their Support to prevent its sinking into Ruin? But to the point. The Church of God from the very foundation of the world was spread abroad, and instructed by the Heavenly Word, which God uttered with his own mouth. It was also furnished with divine Ceremonies; taught by the Spirit of God; by the

* Quoties enim inquit, Concilia intermittuntur, toties Ecclesia a Christo derelinquitur.

Ægidius in Lateran. Concil. sub Julio ii.

Patriarchs* and Prophets, and thus supported and preserved until the very time when Christ manifested himself in the Flesh.

But, oh Eternal God! how often during this period was the Church darkened and obscured; how often on the verge of destruction! For where was it † when *all flesh had corrupted his way upon earth*? Where was it, when out of the whole race of man eight persons only were found, (and they not altogether chaste and holy) whom God wished to preserve from the Universal Destruction and Ruin? When Elias the Prophet so bitterly and mournfully complained that he alone was left of all the world who worshipped God in Spirit and in Truth; ‡ and when Isaiah declared, § that the silver of God's People, that is, of the Church, was become dross; and that the same City which formerly was faithful was now a harlot; and that in it there was no

* Vincentius Lirinensis says, "What if some new corruption invades not only some portion of the Church; but the whole universal Church altogether? Then must the true Christian adhere strictly to Antiquity." That is, he must follow the Primitive Church of the ancient Fathers and Apostles.

† Gen. vi. 12. ‡ 1 Kings xix. 14. § Isaiah i. 21, 22.

part sound throughout the whole body from the head even to the feet: or when Christ himself said, that the House of God was converted by the Priests and Pharisees into a Den of Thieves.* In truth, the Church is even as a Corn-field which unless manured, ploughed, carefully cultivated, and diligently weeded, instead of wheat produces thistles, darnel, and tares.†

For this cause has God from time to time sent Prophets and Apostles, and finally his Son Jesus Christ, to lead the people into the right path,

* Matt. xxi. 13.

† St. Jerome, speaking of the corruptions of which he was an eye-witness, says,—*Ecclesia, postquam ad Christianos principes pervenit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta est.*—"The Church, after she received the Protection of Christian Princes, increased indeed in wealth and power, but in Virtue and Holiness a manifest decay was visible."

Hieronymus in vita Malachi.

On this account, adds St. Chrysostom,—*Hæc dico, ne quis miretur Ecclesiam propter multitudinem: sed ut ipsam probatam reddere studeamus.*—"These things I tell you, not that you should admire the Church, on account of the multitude and increase of her members, but that you should strive to adorn her with the ornaments of Virtue."

Chrysostom ad Populum Antioch. Homil. iv.

Which implies that we must strive to eradicate all errors, and make her appear like a well-cultivated Corn-field, where no *weeds* are suffered to appear.

and to re-establish the tottering Fabric of the Church. And lest some one should pretend that these occurrences took place under the Law, when the Church was in obscurity, and a state of infancy—when Truth was enveloped in ceremonies and mysteries, and nothing had yet arrived at perfection—when the Law was not engraven upon the Hearts of Men, but on Tablets of Stone, (although this is but a foolish distinction for in those days there was the same God, the same Spirit, the same Christ, the same Faith, the same Doctrine, the same Hope, the same Inheritance, the same Covenant, the same Powerful Word of God; and as Eusebius* says, all believers from the time of Adam were absolutely Christians, though they were not so denominated)—lest however, I repeat it, any one should make such assertions, the Apostle Paul animadverts upon the same errors and backslidings under the Gospel, when the Light shone brightest, and the doctrines of the Church were most pure and perfect; and found it necessary on this very account to address the Galatians, whom he had before instructed, in the following

* Ecclesi. Histo. lib. i. cap. 4.

words: * *I am afraid of you lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain, and ye have in vain heard the Gospel preached; my little children of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.* It is not here necessary to recapitulate the dreadful pollutions that defiled the Church at Corinth. If however it were possible for the Churches of Galatia and Corinth to err, is the Church of Rome alone to be considered immaculate and infallible?† Christ long ago prophesied concerning his Church, declaring that the time would come

* Gal. iv. 11. 19.

† Nowe (says the Bishop in his defence,) that the *Church of Rome*, whiche you cal the *Catholique Church* maie erre, and be foresaken of God, it is evident by the plaine wordes of S. Paule, for thus he writeth even unto the *Church of Rome*: 17. "If some of the branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree. 18. Boast not against the branches; but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. 19. Thou wilt say then, the branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. 20. Well, because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by Faith. Be not high minded, but fear. 21. For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee. 22. Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity; but towards thee, goodness; if thou continue in his goodness, otherwise thou, (*beinge the Church of Rome*) also shalt be cut off." *Rom. chap. xi.* Hereby it is

when desolation should stand in the Holy Place.* And St. Paul saith, that Antichrist will one day set up his tabernacle *in the Church of God*; shewing himself that he is † God; and that the time will come ‡ when men will not endure sound doctrine, but in the very Church will turn away their ears from the Truth, and be turned unto Fables. St. Peter § likewise informs us that there should be teachers of lies in the Church of Christ; and the Prophet

plaine, that the *Church of Rome* maie faile, and fal from God no lesse, then other like Churches: for otherwise this advertisement of S. Paule had benne in vaine.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 445.

Hormisda, himself a Pope, addresses the Bishops of Spain in the following words: Dilectissimi fratres, continuas preces ad Dominum fundamus, et deprecatione poscamus, ut et institutione, et opere illi, cujus esse membra cupimus, adhæreamus, nec unquam ab illa via, quæ Christus est, devio tramite declinemus: *ne ab eo juste, quem impie reliquerimus, deseramus*: “My dearly beloved Brethren, let us continually pray unto God that both by our profession and moral conduct, we may cleave to him whose members we desire to be, and that we may never deviate from that straight path, which is CHRIST: lest we, (being the Church of Rome) be justly forsaken by him, whom we have impiously forsaken.”

Hormisda ad Episcopos Hispaniæ.

The Pope would certainly not have expressed himself in these terms, had the Church of Rome been infallible in his eyes!!

* Matt. xxiv. 15. † 2 Thess. ii. 4. ‡ 2 Tim. ix. 3, 4.

§ 2 Pet. ii. 1.

Daniel,* when speaking of the last ages of Antichrist, says, “*In those days Truth shall be cast down to the ground, and trodden under foot.*” Christ also himself forewarns us that in those days confusion and error will prevail to such an extent, that if it were possible the very † elect themselves would be deceived: and these things are to happen not amongst Turks and Heathens, but in the Holy Place, in the Temple of God, in the Church, in the Congregation and Assembly of those who profess the Name of Christ.‡

* Daniel viii. 12.

† Matt. xxiv. 24.

‡ The opinions of the Fathers of the Church on the subject of Antichrist, will perhaps afford the best and clearest illustration of the Doctrine here laid down by Bishop Jewell.—

ORIGEN says, “*Antichrist is the Abomination of Desolation.*”
In Matt. Tract xxix.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM uses a similar form of expression, “*This Antichrist is the Abomination of Desolation; for he shall cause the souls of many Christians to be Desolate, and forsaken of God.*”
In opere imperfecto Homil. xlix.

GREGORY NAZIANZEN affirms, that “*Antichrist will come in the Desolation of the world, for he is the Abomination of Desolation.*”
Significatio in Ezek.

ST. JEROME considers “every perverse and Heretical Doctrine as the *Abomination of Desolation* ;” and when discoursing upon “the Man of Sin, the Adversary of Christ, that is Antichrist, who lifteth himself up above all,” he says, “The Abo-

And although these things alone would guard a prudent man against imposition, and induce him to weigh the doctrines of the Church by the Word of God, and not implicitly rely on the mere name; still in addition to this, many of the Fathers, both pious and learned men, have loudly complained that all these events had happened in their days. For God in the midst of that darkness was desirous that there should be some who, although they could not illumine the world by any very superior display of Genius and Intellect, might still as it were serve as a beacon to guide the wandering and distracted minds of the benighted multitude.

Hilary,* whilst the Ecclesiastical Polity was yet uncorrupted, condemns their devotion for mere walls, and the worship of Houses and

mination of Desolation shall stand in the Church until the Consummation, or End of Time." *In Matt. cap. xxiv.*

ST. AMBROSE declares "that the *Abomination of Desolation* is the cursed coming of Antichrist."

In Lucam. lib. x. cap. xxi.

ST. HILARY, THEODORET, EUSEBIUS, and most of the CATHOLIC FATHERS, have expressed the same opinions.

See the Defence of the Apologie, p. 447.

* *Contra Auxentium.*

Buildings: as if they alone constituted the Church of God, as if in them alone dwelt the Prince of Peace. Can you doubt, he adds, whether Antichrist shall sit there? The Mountains, Woods, Lakes, Prisons, and Gulphs appear to me to offer greater security: for in these, the Prophets, either abiding voluntarily, or driven by oppression, prophesied by the Spirit of God.

Gregory,* as if he foresaw and absolutely contemplated the impending ruin, thus addressed John, Bishop of Constantinople, who first assumed the novel title of Universal Bishop of the Church of Christ; “If the Church should ever depend on one man alone its destruction will be certain.” And who has not already seen the fulfilment of this prediction? It is now some time since the Pope attempted to bring the whole Church under his individual controul. We ought not therefore to marvel† if its ruin has long ago been completed. St. Bernard, above four hundred years before this period, declared that “there

* In regist. Epist. ad Mauricium, lib. iv. Epist. 32.

† These words of St. Bernard clearly prove, that the opinion of the declining state of the Church was not confined to any

was nothing pure and upright amongst the Clergy, and that the *Man of Sin* alone remained to be revealed." And in his Sermon on the conversion* of St. Paul, he adds; "Some persons may imagine that Persecutions have ceased: far from it; Persecution has but now commenced, and that even with those who have pre-eminence in the Church: thy friends, and thy neighbours have drawn near and stood against thee: from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there is no part sound. Iniquity has been manifested in thy Elders, Judges, and Vicars, who appeared to govern thy People. We cannot now say; "as the People, so are the Priesthood:" for the Laity are not at this time so abandoned as the Clergy. Alas! alas! oh Lord God! those men are the first to persecute thee, who aim at the highest dignity, and exercise the chief authority in thy Church. And the same pious

particular Sect or Party,—*Intestinalis, et Insanabilis est plaga Ecclesiæ*, "The wound of the Church is inward and incurable."

Citatur ab Holcoto in Sapien. Lectio xxliii.

Baptista Mantuanus similarly complains to Pope Leo,—

"Sancte Pater succurre LEO, Respublica Christi

Labitur, ægrotatque Fides jam proxima Morti."

Baptist. Mant. Fast. iv.

* Bernard, in Conversione S. Pauli. Sermon. i.

divine exclaims in his Sermon* on the Canticles; “All are thy Friends, yet all thine Enemies; all Kinsfolk, but still Adversaries: who being Christ’s Servants worship Antichrist: behold in the days of my Peace, my Bitterness is increased an hundred-fold.” Roger Bacon† likewise a man of great reputation, when he had with powerful and touching eloquence lashed the prevailing vices and corruptions of the times in which he lived, thus concludes; “All these numerous errors proclaim the near approach of Antichrist.”

Gerson‡ complains that in his day “all the force of Theology was applied to a mere contest of Wit and Sophistry.” The Lugdunensian Brothers,§ an order of men whose general conduct

* Serm. xxxiii.

† In libello de Idiomate linguarum.

‡ This learned man was considered one of the profoundest Scholars, and most able Disputant of his time: he was Chancellor of the University of Paris, and out of respect to his great Wisdom and extensive Erudition, was chosen *Director* of all the Bishops at the Council of Constance.

§ These men who are stiled “*Pauperes a Lugduno*,” founded faulte with the Pride of the Pope: with the lewde life of the Clergie: with Purgatorie: with Holy Water: with Pardones: and with other like deceivings of the People. They translated the Bible: and praied in their natural knowen mother tongue; these were their errors; therefore they were called detestable

and life was blameless, were wont boldly to affirm, that the Papal Church, whose decrees and edicts were at that time considered oracular, was that very Whore of Babylon and Assemblage of Devils so clearly foretold in the Revelations. I am aware that the authority of these men possesses little weight with our adversaries, and shall therefore produce witnesses whom they themselves hold in the highest esteem and veneration. What if I say that *Pope Adrian himself frankly confessed that all those evils which have afflicted the Church emanated from the Papal Throne? Pighius does not deny that they committed a great error in suffering so many abuses in the Mass, which nevertheless in other respects he considers most Holy. Gerson laments that the multitude of idle and ridiculous Ceremonies which had crept into the Church, had utterly destroyed all that Piety which ought to dis-

Heretiques; therefore were they condemned by the Church of Rome. But Goddes Name be blessed for ever, Sithence that time the Pope's painted power hath stil abated; and these poore detestable condemned Heretiques have stil encreased.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 454.

* Johan Sleidanus, lib. iv. Anno 1523. Also Fasciculus rerum sciendarum, Cornelius Bitontinus in Concilio Tridentino, and Platina's Life of Adrian.

tinguish it; and that the power of the Holy Spirit no longer flourished amongst them. In a word, all Greece * and Asia complained that the Popes of Rome, by their Doctrine of Purgatory and Sale of Indulgences, had offered violence to the consciences and prejudices of men, and at the same time robbed them of their money.

The Tyranny also of the Roman Pontiffs, and their abominable Persian-like pride, has excited the indignation of all men; for (not to mention those who from their having openly and freely exposed the vicious habits of the Papists may be considered by them as enemies) Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Francis Petrarch,

* Surely, the Christian menne, that be this daie in Græcia, and Asia, utterly abhor the Pope, with all the deformities of his Church. The Greeke Emperour * Michael Palæologus, for that he had submitted himself to the Pope, in the late Council of Florence, was therefore afterwards abhorred and hated of his People, while he lived: and being deade, was forbidden Christian Burial. † Isidorus the Archbishop of Kiouw in Russia, for that, being returned from the said Council, he beganne for unities sake, to move the people to the like submission, was therefore deposed from his Bishopricke, and put to deathe.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 457.

* Paulus Æmilius, Pantaleon.

† Matthias à Michouia, in novo orbe.

Jerome Savanarola, Abbas Joachim, Baptista Mantuanus, and more particularly St. Bernard, all of whom resided at Rome! in the Sacred City! under the eyes of the most Holy Father!! and were intimately acquainted with his most private habits: and above all, who never apostatized from the Romish Faith: these very men I say have not scrupled on some occasions publicly to assert (whether truly or falsely I cannot say) that the Pope himself is Antichrist.*

* St. John in the Revelations says, Antichrist shall sit in a City built on Seven Hills. This observes the Bishop is the case with Rome. Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, and St. Bernard, frequently make allusions to the Roman Pontiff as Antichrist. The latter positively declares, that “the Beast spoken of in the book of Revelations, unto which is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to wage war against the Saints of God, is *now* seated in St. Peter’s Chair, as a Lion prepared for his Prey.

Epistola. cxxv.

The Abbot Joachim, nearly six centuries ago, declared that “Antichrist was already born in Rome, and would advance himself higher in the Apostolic See.” And Arnulphus, when addressing the Council of Rheims on the subject of the Pope, said, “What think you, Reverend Fathers, of this man, sitting on high on his throne, glittering in purple, and Cloth of Gold? Whom think you that he is? Verily, if he is destitute of Charity, and puffed up with vain conceits of his own knowledge and importance, then is he Antichrist, sitting in the temple of God, and exalting himself as if he were God.”

In consilio Rheim. Inter Opera Bernardi.

Nor can any one pretend that these men were the disciples of Luther or Zuinglius: for they lived not only some years, but even ages before the names of the latter were heard of. They saw however at that early period that errors had crept into the Church, and were anxious to reform them. And why should we be surprized at the existence of these errors? more especially at a period when neither the Bishop of Rome, who at that time was the sole Head of the Church, nor indeed any other person, either *did* or even *knew* his duty? for no one can for a moment suspect that the Devil during all that period remained inactive, and participated in the negligence and sloth of these Idlers.*

So keenly indeed did the Popes feel these attacks, which were made by Poets and Philosophers, as well as Divines, (for instance, Dante, Petrarch, and others,) that a Bull was issued at the second Lateran Council, subjecting every one who spoke of the coming of Antichrist to Excommunication.

Concil. Lateran. sub Julio et Leone. Sessio. ii.

* Let it shame the Successors of the Apostles, saith St. Bernard, not to be the Lights of the world, but the Light of the Bushell. Let us therefore say unto them, ye are the Darkness of the world.

In Cantica, Serm. lxvi.

St. Hilary tells us, that the Churches, in which God's word does not prevail and keep watch, suffer shipwreck.

In Matt. Canon. viii.

Not to trouble our readers with our own remarks on the moral habits and lives of these men, and the fidelity with which they guarded the Interests of God's House, we will introduce the words of their own friend and Advocate, St. Bernard; "The Bishops to whom the Church of Christ is now entrusted, are not Teachers but Deceivers, not Pastors but Impostors, not Prelates but Pilates.* Such was St. Bernard's opinion of him who then assumed the title of Sovereign Pontiff, and of those Bishops who sat with him at the Helm.† He was no Lutheran; he was no Heretic; he had not forsaken their

And our Saviour exhorted his disciples to come with diligence, in the parable of the Sower. Whilst men slept, the enemy came and sowed tares. Watch therefore and pray.

Matt. xiii. 25.

* The antithesis which conveys so much force to the expressions in the original, cannot be adequately preserved in a translation; the words of St. Bernard are—non *doctores*, sed *seductores*, non *pastores*, sed *impostores*: non *Prælati*, sed *Pilati*.

Epistola ad Eugenium.

† St. Bernard's opinion of the abuses in the Church of Rome was by no means singular: for one of their own Cardinals applies the words of the Prophet Jeremiah * to the Clergy of that period. *A wonderful and horrible thing is committed in the land; The Prophets prophesy falsely, and the Priests bear rule by their means, and my people love to have it so.*

Johannes Vitalis de Prælati et Sacerdotibus.

* Jer. v. 30, 31.

Church; still he did not hesitate to arraign the Bishops of that day as *Deceivers, Impostors, Pilates*.—Where then, oh gracious God! was the Church of Christ, when the eyes of his disciples were blinded against truth; when the People were openly deceived, when Pilate sat in the Judgment Seat, and condemned Jesus and the Members of his Body to Fire and Sword? And which of all these gross errors, I would now ask, have our adversaries at any period reformed, or rather which have they ever acknowledged or confessed?

But now since they claim the entire Possession of the Catholic Church, and stigmatize us who differ from them, as Heretics: Let us examine by what peculiar mark their Church is distin-

Albertus Magnus says, “they that now preside over the Church, are Thieves and Plunderers, Robbers, not Guardians; Spoilers, not Protectors; Destroyers, not Shepherds; Deceivers, not Guides; perverting, not teaching the Doctrines of the Gospel. These are the forerunners of Antichrist, the enemies of the Flock of Christ.”

In Johannem, cap. x.

To the above may be added, the words of William Holcot,—“The Priests of this time are like the Priests of Baal; they are Apostate Angels; the Priests of Dagon; the Angels of Hell.”

In Libro Sapientiæ, lectio 182.

guished as the Church of God: and it is not so very difficult a task to discover God's Church if we seriously and diligently enquire after it; "for it is established on the top of a Mountain, and exalted above the Hills;"* "is built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets."† There, saith St. Augustin, let us seek the Church; there let us decide upon the merits of our cause:‡ and afterwards, he asserts that the Doctrines of the Church are to be proved from the Holy Canonical Scriptures;§ and that whatever is not derived from that source is not the Church.||

I cannot however imagine for what reason our opponents shun with abhorrence the Word of God, as a thief does the gallows; whether it arises from fear, a consciousness of their own

* Isaiah ii. 2.

† Ephesians ii. 20.

‡ De Unitate Ecclesiæ, c. iii.

§ Nolo humanis documentis, sed divinis oraculis Sanctam Ecclesiam demonstrari. I will not have the Holy Church declared by Man's Judgment, but by God's Word.

S. Augustin. De Unit. Eccl. cap. iii.

And St. Chrysostom declares, that "the true Church of Christ can be discovered by the Scriptures alone."

Chrysost. Homil. xix.

|| De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. iv.

bad cause, or despair of victory. At the same time perhaps this subject ought not to excite any great degree of astonishment; for it is well known that insects quickly perish if immersed even in the most fragrant Essences: in like manner they feel that their cause must be rendered hopeless, and finally destroyed by God's Word, as it were by Poison.

The most Holy Scriptures therefore (which our Saviour Jesus Christ on all occasions cited as the highest authority, and finally sealed with his most precious Blood,*) are denominated by these men as cold, unmeaning, and useless writings:† nay, in many instances, dangerous, and destructive in their tendency; which in

* Our Saviour resigned up his Soul to his Father in the words of David, see Luke xxiii. 46, and Psalm xxxi. v. 5.

† These expressions are not recorded by enemies but Friends of the Romish Church. Flaccius Illyricus, Jacobus Andreas, and Johannes Brentius, all agree in attributing similar Language to the Popish Writers; the latter adds, "*Vociferantur interea, Sacram, Scripturam esse dubiam, ambiguum, Præceptorem mutum, Literam Occidentem, Literam Mortuam,*" all which terms are cited by Bishop Jewell, in this and the preceding Paragraph.

Johan Brentius, in Præfatione in Jacobi Andreae libro. contra Hosium.

my opinion is much the same as if they altogether denied their authenticity and Divine origin. And their sole object in acting thus is that the multitude may be deterred from a close examination of the Sacred Volume, from a belief that it contains doctrines injurious to their Interests both here and hereafter. They add likewise a most inappropriate Simile, comparing the Scriptures to a nose of wax, which can be formed and moulded into a thousand shapes, and applied to a variety of Purposes.* Is the Pope ignorant that these assertions are made by his Satellites? That his cause is espoused by such *powerful* advocates?

Let him then hear with what reverence and piety this subject is discussed by Hosius, a Polish Bishop, whom he has himself pronounced to be a profound and eloquent Scholar, and one of the most able and undaunted Defenders of his Cause. He will, I suspect, be astonished to find a *pious* man entertaining such *impious* thoughts, and writing in so contemptuous a style of those very Words which he knew proceeded from the

* Albertus Pighius in *Controversia de Ecclesia*.

mouth of God himself; especially when his *Holiness* perceives that this Prelate has identified the whole Popish Party with himself in the opinions here laid down.

“We will no longer,” says he, “place any reliance on those Scriptures which have received such various and contradictory Interpretations; but rather attend to the voice of God himself than refer to those unprofitable *Elements*, (or bare words of Holy Writ,) and place our Hopes of Salvation in them. It is not necessary for a man to be well versed in the Law and Gospel, but to be taught of God. It is but lost labour that is engrossed by the Sacred Writings. For the * Scripture is but a Creature, and mere bare Letter.”† These are the words of Hosius, pronounced with the same spirit and disposition as actuated Marcias and Montanus, when (as we

* At the Council of Trent, the Bible was called by one Popish Prelate “*Atramentum mortuum*,” *dead ink*; another said, “*Scriptura est res inanimis, et muta*,” *a dumb inanimate thing*; and a third impiously mentioned the Sacred Volume as “*Nigrum Evangelium*,” *the black Gospel*.

Ludovicus in Concilio Tridentino.

† Hosius in libro de expresso Verbo Dei, sed sub alterius persona, quamvis et ipse alias eadem in eodem etiam libro disertis verbis affirmet.

are informed) they impiously and sacrilegiously rejected the Gospel, asserting that they knew both more and better things than either Christ or his Apostles.

What then shall I now say? Oh ye * Pillars of true Faith! Ye Guardians of the Church of Christ! Is this the Reverence and Respect you entertain for the Word of God? Dare you, considering it unworthy your *enlightened* understandings, ordain and enforce the rejection of that Sacred Volume which St. Paul pronounced to be divinely inspired, which God himself sanctified by such innumerable miracles, in which the footsteps of our Saviour Christ are clearly visible, which all the Holy Fathers, the Apostles, the Angels, nay even Jesus himself the Son of God, when occasion required, avouched to be true? Or will you impose silence on God himself, who most plainly addresses you in the Holy Scriptures? Or will you call that WORD a mere useless *element*, by which alone according to St. Paul we are reconciled unto God, and which

* Some read *culmina*, some *calumnia*. I prefer however the more ironical reading, which I have here adopted.

the Prophet David declares to be Holy, Pure, and Everlasting? Or will you assert that all our labour is lost which is bestowed on that One Book which Christ enjoins us diligently to search, and evermore keep before our eyes? That when our Saviour and his Apostles exhorted the multitude to read the BIBLE, that they might acquire Wisdom and Knowledge, it was their actual intention to deceive and lead them into error? If these are your Sentiments, if God himself and his unerring Word are so little regarded, it cannot excite astonishment that we and all our proceedings meet with a similar reception. But still it savours strongly of folly in our adversaries to attempt to bring the Word of God into disrepute, in order to annoy and injure us.*

* In the Defence of the Apology, the following Paragraph is here inserted, as constituting a part of the Apology itself, and which indeed excited no small indignation in Mr. Harding, and calls forth an elaborate reply from him: as I have been unable to discover it in any of the Latin Apologies, or indeed in any other translation of the work, it is here given verbatim from the Defence.

“ But HOSIUS will here make exclamation, and saie, that wee doo him wronge, and that these be not his owne woordes, but the woordes of the Heretique ZUENKFELDIUS. But how then, if ZUENKFELDIUS make exclamation on the other side, and

As if this however were insufficient, they commit the Holy Scriptures to the Flames, as the wicked King *Aza, as Antiochus and Maximin, two Heathen Persecutors likewise did, declaring them to be the Books of Heretics.† They appear indeed altogether desirous of imitating Herod in the method he took for establishing his authority in Judæa: who being an Idumæan, unconnected with the Jews by blood or kindred, was still anxious to be considered one of their

saie that the same very woordes be not his, but HOSIUS own woordes? For tel me, where hath ZUENKFELDIUS ever writtten them? Or if he have writtten them, and HOSIUS have judged the same to be wicked, why hath not HOSIUS spoken so mutche as one woorde, to confute them? Howsoever the mater goe, although HOSIUS peradventure wil not allowe of those woordes, yet he dothe not disallow the meaninge of the woordes. For wel neare in al Controversies, and namely, touchinge the use of the *Holy Communion under Bothe Kindes*, although the woordes of CHRISTE be plaine and evident, yet dothe HOSIUS disdeinefully rejecte them, as no better than *Colde, and Dead Elementes*: and commandeth us to geeve Faithe to certaine Newe Lessons, appointed by his Church, and to, I wote not what, Revelations of the *Holy Ghoste*. And Pighius saith, Menne ought not to beleve, no not the most cleare and manifeste woordes of the *Scriptures*, onlesse the same be allowed for good by the Interpretation and Authoritie of the Church: whereby he meaneth the Church of Rome."

The Defence of the Apologie, fol. p. 470. Ed. Lond. 1567.

* Alii Jehoiaxim. † Eusebius. Hist. Ecclesiæ. lib. i. cap. 7.

countrymen, that his dominion over them, which had been given him by Augustus, might be more firmly established, and that his descendants might thereby enjoy undisturbed possession of the Throne. To effect this, he commanded all their Genealogies which had been carefully preserved in the Public Registers from the time of Abraham to be burnt or otherwise destroyed; because from these it was not difficult to discover to what tribe any individual might belong, and thus the fact of his being of foreign extraction would become known to posterity. Such is the precise line of conduct pursued by our opponents: through anxiety to have all their innovations and decrees stamped with the authority of Christ and his Apostles, and accordingly respected, they either burn or suppress the Sacred Volume, lest any arguments should be found to expose their falsehoods, and the idle dreams in which they indulge.

St. Chrysostom* has admirably exposed the designs of these men. "Heretics," he says, "close the gates of Truth; well knowing, that

* In Opere Imperfecto.

if *they* are kept open, the Church would be no longer theirs." Theophylact calls "the Word of God, the Candle by which the Thief is discovered and taken;" and Tertullian declares that "the Scriptures convict Heretics of Treachery and Deceit." For what other purpose do they conceal and suppress the Gospel, which Christ commanded his disciples to "*publish on the house top?*" Why do they hide that Candle under a bushel, which ought to be placed on a Candlestick? Why do they confide in the blind ignorance and folly of an unenlightened multitude, rather than in the goodness and purity of their cause? Can they believe that their arts are still undiscovered; or that, as if they possessed the Ring of Gyges, they walk invisible? No, no; the world knows but too well the secret designs of his HOLINESS. One argument is sufficient to prove that their proceedings are neither conducted with honour nor sincerity: for that cause which declines a scrutiny, and fears the Light, justly becomes an object of Suspicion: for as our Saviour* says; "*every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reprov-
ed.*"

* St. John iii. 20, 21.

But he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest, that they are wrought in God." The Papists however are not so blind but they clearly perceive that, if the Scriptures once become generally read and known, their kingdom must perish; and, as it was said in the old time, All the idols of the Dæmons, whose oracles were formerly consulted in cases of perplexity, suddenly became dumb at the appearance of Christ upon Earth; so in these days will all their arts perish, all their influence decay at the preaching of the Gospel. For Antichrist cannot be dethroned but by the Brightness of Christ's Advent."*

How different is our conduct. We of the Reformed Church have no recourse to Flames,† but to the Word of God. We do not attack our opponents with the Sword, but with the Holy

* 2 Thess. ii. 8.

† Utinam filios Hæreticorum et omnium qui decepti sunt, interficiamus Sagittis Spiritualibus, id est testimoniis Scripturarum.

St. Jerom. in Isaiah, lib. v. cap. 14.

We desire to overcome our adversaries with the sword of the Spirit, that they may no longer be the enemies of God, but rejoice, as saith St. Augustin, together with us in the Knowledge of Truth, and Destruction of Error.

Scriptures.* By them, as saith Tertullian, we nourish our Faith, upon them we found our Hope, and establish our Belief: for we know that the Gospel of Jesus Christ † is the Power of God unto Salvation, and that in *it* there is Eternal Life; and as St. Paul exhorteth ‡ us, we would not hear an Angel of God that came from Heaven, if he strove to seduce our minds from any part of this Doctrine. Yea, as that most holy man Justin Martyr said of himself, “we would not believe God himself if he should teach us another Gospel;” for whereas they make the Holy Scriptures useless and unserviceable, and invite mankind to listen to God himself, who they say speaks in their Churches, and presides in their Councils, this is a very dangerous and unsatisfactory way of finding out Truth, which is wholly disapproved by the Holy Fathers, and savours strongly of Fanaticism. Chrysostom says indeed, that many persons are frequently found

* Archhishop Laud, in his Conference with Fisher the Jesuit, declares, “That the Scripture only, not any unwritten Tradition, was the Foundation of Faith,” and that “The Books commonly called the Bible, are the Word of God.”

Page 75. fol. Lond. 1686.

† Rom. i. 16.

‡ Gal. i. 8.

who boast of the possession of the Holy Ghost :* but they are vain glorious and false teachers who thus speak of the Spirit of God. For as Christ denied that he spake *of* himself when he spake out of the Law or the Prophets ; so likewise, if any Doctrine be obtruded upon as under the name of the Holy Ghost, save the Gospel, it is not to be credited. For as Christ is the Fulfilment of the Law and the Prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the Fulfilment of the Gospel. Such are the Sentiments of St. Chrysostom.†

* It was thus, says the Bishop in his Defence, that the old fanatical Heretics, when confounded by the testimony of *God's Word*, appealed to *his Spirit* ; which they asserted could never fail them. St. Augustin addresses persons who entertain these opinions in the following words : “ Videtis ergo, id vos agere, ut omnis de medio *Scripturarum autoritas* auferatur : et suus cuique animus *author* sit, quid in quaque *Scriptum* probet, quid improbet ; id est, ut non *Autoritati Scripturarum* subji- ciat ad Fidem, sed sibi *Scripturas* ipse subjiciat : Non ut illi *ideo placeat* aliquid, quia hoc in *sublimi Autoritate* scriptum legitur : sed *ideo recte* scriptum videatur, quia hoc illi placuit ;” thus demonstrating that in drawing up their articles of belief, they were not at all guided by Scripture, but that each followed his own inclination, in accepting or rejecting whatever might suit his individual habits and temper.

S. Augustin, Contra Faustum Manichæ, lib. xxx. c. 18.

† Chrysostom de Sancto et Adorando Spiritu.

CHAP. V.

THE OPINIONS MAINTAINED IN THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH BY THE ANCIENT FATHERS AND GENERAL COUNCILS, AND THE DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE OF THE REFORMED DIVINES COMPARED WITH SOME OF THE POPIISH TENETS.

But what if these men have not the Scriptures? They can boast perhaps a long Catalogue of ancient Doctors and holy Fathers. For from time immemorial they have arrogantly maintained that all antiquity and the uninterrupted consent of every age favoured their pretensions; whilst on the contrary, our doctrines were the offspring of innovation, the forgery of yesterday.*

* The assertion made by the Papists, that * Augustin, a Monk of Rome, first introduced Christianity into this Country,

* A. D. 596. See Flores Historiarum—The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough—and “The true storie of Beda, translated by Kinge Alfrede.” This last work is thus described by Jewell. “The true Beda indeede, was translated above seven hundred years agoe into the Olde English or Saxon tongue, by Alfrædus, or Aluredus, then Kinge of this lande.

Now it must be confessed that against the Religion of God no heavier charge can be adduced than that of novelty. For as God himself is the same yesterday, to day, and for ever; so are the principles of his religion unchangeable. We have always however observed, though unable to discover the cause, that, notwithstanding its great Antiquity, its Eternity of duration, whenever God hath kindled as it were the flame of his truth, and revealed it to mankind, it hath by the impious and the hostile been stigmatized as a recent and new-fangled device. The profligate and sanguinary Haman, when desirous of bringing odium upon the Jews, brings the following accusation against them before King Aha-

is totally false. For Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Hilary, Theodoret, Eusebius, and indeed many other Ancient Writers, inform us that the Faith of Christ had been universally received and perfectly established in this Realm many Centuries before this Friar existed. He it is true introduced a variety of strange Novelties and Superstitions, as Candles, Candlesticks, Banners and Holy Water. "Whereof, says Bishop Jewell, the Church of God had no great neede, and yet have the same sithence benne encreased by other Newe Devises and Vanities above measure." For a full account of the Avarice, Pride and Cruelty of this *Christian Teacher*, consult the Writings of the *Venerable Bede*, lib. ii. cap. 2. and *The Defence of the Apologie*, p. 492, 4.

suerus, *There is, oh King! a certain stubborn and rebellious people, whose Laws are divers from all people, neither keep they the King's Laws.** St. Paul also, when he first began to preach the Gospel at Athens, was styled the Herald of new Gods, the Preacher of a New Religion. † “And may we not” (accordingly asked the Athenians) “know from thee what this New Doctrine is?” “And after the lapse of so many ages hath God now at last recollected himself,” were the words of Celsus, ‡ the professed adversary of Christ; who was desirous of exposing the Gospel to the scorn and ridicule of the World, by applying to it the appellation of Novelty. Eusebius also informs us that Christianity has from the first been contumeliously styled “The New and Strange Religion. § In precisely the same terms is the Reformed Church stigmatized by the Papists: whilst theirs, whatever be its real Character, is lauded for its purity and antiquity. And in this they follow the practice of the Magicians and Sorcerers of the present time, who deal indeed with the Devil, but still assert that they derive the hidden and recondite mysteries of their pro-

* Esther iii. 8. † Acts, xvii. 19. ‡ Origen contra Celsum.

§ νέαν καὶ ξένην. Euseb. Eccles. Histor. lib. 1. cap. iv.

fession from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, Adam, and even the Archangel Raphael: hoping that the authority of such names may reflect lustre upon their art.* In a similar manner our opponents, the more easily, and generally to recommend that religion, of which, and at no very distant date, they were themselves the founders, to weak and thoughtless men, declare that they received it from St. Augustin, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, the Apostles, and CHRIST himself: † for they are well aware how

* Thus the Arian Heretics alleged the Authority of the Ancient Father Origen, and the Pelagians that of St. Augustin.

Socrates, lib. iv. cap. 26.

Dioscorus in the Public Council of Chalcedon used the same arts, declaring that his Doctrines were supported by all the Ancient Fathers of the Church. Eutyches boasted that he had read and founded his Opinions on the Writings of St. Cyril, St. Athanasius, and the Holy Fathers, and not to multiply examples, Carosus boldly exclaimed "Thus do I believe, and thus was I baptized, according to the exposition of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers at the Council of Nice." All these instances may be found in the History of the Council of Chalcedon.

Actio i. p. 767 and 793. Actio iv. p. 877.

† Thus Panormitan declares that Cardinalatus est de jure Divino Quia Papa per Sacerdotes Leviticos intelligit Cardinales. Hosius appears to think that Monks owe their origin to the Apostles, meaning that Christ himself was the Abbot. And another popish writer says, Christus dux et exemplar vita

grateful and popular the sound of these names is to the Ears of the People.

But what, if those tenets which they are so anxious to prove of recent date be found to bear the stamp of Age? And on the other hand, the principles and doctrines which they clothe in the garb of antiquity prove, upon accurate and diligent investigation, to be the mere inventions of yesterday?

Although Haman contemptuously arraigned the Jewish laws and ceremonies as novel and before unheard of, no reflecting and unprejudiced mind could be so deceived; for they were graven on tables of the remotest antiquity. And Christ, who by so many was suspected to have seceded from Abraham and the Patriarchs, and to have introduced in his own name a new form

Monasticæ, though the same learned Theban afterwards makes Elias the founder of the Benedictines, as if the Prophet had been a Black Friar. To St. Jerome is attributed the honour of introducing the Cardinal's Hat, St. Augustin is distinguished as the inventor of the Monk's Cowl, and Eliezer (Credat Judæus) undoubtedly instituted the Holy Water!!!

See *Polydorus de Inventoribus*, lib. iv. cap 9. *Hosius in confessione Petri*, cap. lxxxviii. and *Copus Dialog.* ii. *passim*.

of religion, answered truly ; * “ Had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me : ” my doctrine is not new ; for Moses, the most ancient author on record, “ in whom ye also trust, wrote of me.” And St. Paul declares that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which by many is considered new, is confirmed by the most ancient authority of the Law and the Prophets. And so our own doctrine, which, with greater propriety we may denominate the Catholic doctrine of Christ, is not of any recent date : it was recommended to us by the ANCIENT OF DAYS, GOD AND THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST in monuments of the greatest age, in the Gospel, in the Prophetical and in the Apostolical books : and to no one can it now appear a novelty, unless he considers the Faith professed by the Prophets, the Evangelists and even Christ himself in the same point of view.

But if their religion be actually as ancient as they wish it to appear, why do they not produce testimonials from the Primitive Church, from the Ancient Fathers, and from the Councils to establish the fact ?

* Johu v. 46.

Why has a cause of this standing so long remained unprotected by such decisive authority? Fire and sword have never slumbered: but upon the subject of ancient Councils and the Authority of Venerable Fathers how portentous the Silence!!

Surely it was absurd to commence with such sanguinary measures, if milder and more gentle arguments could possibly have been found. But if they do indeed rely so confidently upon its antiquity, if there is no pretence; why, a few years since, did John Clement, an Englishman, in the presence of certain men of Credit and Integrity, tear and commit to the flames the only copy extant * (as he believed) of a work in which that Venerable Father Theodoret, a Greek Bishop, proved in the most clear and unanswerable manner that the BREAD used in the Eucharist undergoes no *material* change?

* This reporte was made in the presence, and hearinge of Mr. Peter Martyr, and sundrie other learned menne, of whom certaine are yet alive. The Reporter was both a learned man, and a grave Father, and not longe sithence a Bishop in Englande, who saide he was presente, and sawe the thiuge donne with his eies. *The Defence of the Apologie*, p. 497.

Why does Albertus Pighius * deny the truth and justice of that ancient Father's, St. Augustin's Sentiments on Original Sin?† Why does he pronounce his arguments erroneous and illogical when he asserts, that after the ‡vow is once recorded Matrimony is irrevocably contracted?§ Why, when they printed a new Edition of Father Origen's Work upon the Gospel of St. John, did they || omit the whole Sixth Chap-

* This Pighius is one of the Chief Bulwarks of Popery, but even his Authority is called in Question by Peter a Soto and others, who declares that in his time Pighius was considered as a man who utterly denied the existence of Original Sin.
Petrus a Soto de Natura et Gratia.

† Dist. 27. Quidam August. de Bono Viduitat. cap. x.

‡ Votum nuncupatum.

§ Caus. xxvii. cap. 4. Nuptiarum bonum. In controversiis.

|| The custom of razing out, and omitting whatever militated against their doctrines was commonly practised by the Popish Priests. In an Epistle of Rabanus Archbishop of Mentz, on the subject of the Communion, we are informed by Baluzius* and F. Mabillon that an entire passage is omitted, and Archbishop Usher assures us that a most important passage is razed out of an OldMS. Book of Penitential Canons in the Library of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge. A similar mutilation was observed in the Worcester book, but found restored in the Exeter book, from the Saxon Epistle printed by John Day. More fully to expose these detestable practices, Peter Martyr found in the Florentine Library a MS. of St. Chrysostom

* In præfatione ad Rabani Epist. n. xvii. et in Notis ad c. xxxiii. ad calcem Reginonis.

ter,* in which it is probable, or rather certain that he combated many of their opinions upon the Eucharist: choosing rather to give a mutilated Copy of his work, than suffer themselves by the publication of a perfect one to be convicted of Error? Is the rending, suppressing, mutilating, and burning of the Writings of Ancient Fathers any Proof of their reliance on Antiquity?†

which contained a powerful Refutation of the doctrine of transubstantiation, and transcribed several copies of it, one of which he gave to Archbishop Cranmer. The copies of this Epistle being lost the world was persuaded by the Papists that the passage was a forgery of Martyr's. This passed current for an hundred years, till at last Emericus Bigotius found it, and printed the whole Epistle with the Life of St. Chrysostom, so that notwithstanding the French Monks' indignation at the learned Usher for charging the Papists with the mutilation of an Old MS. it is evident that such proceedings are not unusual with them, that they are more ancient than their Expurgatory Indices, and more mischievous, and that some of their great Doctors in our days hesitate not to suppress every testimony which may expose their corruptions. For further accounts of these Mal-practices consult *Step. Le Moine, inter varia Sacra, tom. i. p. 532. Palladii vita St. Chrysostomi. 4to. Par. 1680. and the Book of Bertram, appendix, Lond. 1686.*

* The book in this mutilated state is by no means of rare occurrence.

† When this Apology was written the design of a general *Index Expurgatorius* upon all the printed Fathers was not known, which is an undeniable argument under their own

It is worth our while to see how delightfully these men harmonize in their religious opinions with those Fathers of whose coincidence of opinion they so arrogantly boast. The old Council of * Elibertin decreed that no object of popular Worship should be painted in the Churches. Images. The Venerable Father Epiphanius † declares it an act of horrid impiety, an enormity not to be endured, for any one to place in a Christian Church a picture, even of Christ. In defiance of these opinions the Papists have crowded every part of their Churches with

hands that the Ancient Fathers are not in their Interest: the first of these Indices was found at the taking of Cales in Spain, A. D. 1596, thirty-four years after the publication of this work.

* Held A. D. 305. cap. iii. Now Grenada in Spain.

† These are the words of Epiphanius, “ I found there a veil hanging at the Entrance of the Church, stained and painted, having a representation of the figure of Christ, or some Saint, I do not remember which. When therefore I saw the Image of a man hanging in the Church of Christ, contrary to the Commandment of the Scriptures, I tore it asunder, and commanded the Keepers of the Church to use it as a shroud for some poor person, &c. I intreat you therefore to charge the Priests of that district not to allow such Veils, which are contrary to our Religion, to be suspended in the Church of Christ.”

Epiphanius ad Johan. Hierosolymitan. Apud Hieronymum tom. ii.

images and statues, as if religion without them were nothing.*

The Scriptures. The Ancient Fathers, Origen † and St. Chrysostom ‡, exhort the people to read the Scriptures, and to purchase them, that in their domestic retirement husbands and wives, parents and children may discuss these Sacred Sub-

* In the Nicene Council the Bishops unanimously agreed that Images in Churches are not only allowable, but also devoutly and reverently to be honoured, and that with the same devotion as is due to God himself. One of them indeed exclaimed “ Venerandas imagines recipio, et Adoro, et id perpetue docebo.” I receive and worship the Reverend Images, and this doctrine will I maintain whilst I live. And another added, “ Sacras imagines adoro, qui vero secus confitentur, eos anathematizo.” I devoutly worship the sacred images, and consider those accursed who maintain contrary opinions.

Concilium Nicenum ii. Actione. 2.

Again: Si omnino errare meruerunt, qui Christum et Apostolos ejus, non in Sanctis Codicibus sed in Pictis Parietibus quæsierunt. Nec mirum si Pingentibus Fingentes decepti sunt. They deserved to labour under delusion who sought not Christ and his Apostles in the Sacred Writings, but on painted Walls. Nor ought we to marvel that inventors and pretenders are themselves deceived by the Artist.

August. de consensu Evang. lib. i. cap. 10.

† Origines in Leviticum, cap. xvi.

‡ Chrysostom in Matt. 1. Hom. 2. and in Johannum, Hom. xxxi.

jects. Our Adversaries condemn the Scriptures as dead elements, and do all in their power to debar the people from the use of them.*

On the Marriage of the Clergy.

The Ancient Fathers, † Cyprian, ‡ Epiphanius, and St. Jerome maintain that § should any one by chance have vowed to pass a life of celibacy, but inflamed by desire have afterwards fallen into habits of sensuality, and found himself unable to resist the lusts of the Flesh, it is better for him to marry and live chastely; and the Ancient Father Augustin is

* Throughout the Works of St. Chrysostom, we find continual exhortations to read and expound the Scriptures, both at home with the family, and also amongst neighbours. Let one of you take up the Holy Volume and summon his Neighbours, and by the heavenly words; Let him water and refresh both their minds and also his own. And again, Even when at home let us spend our time in reading the Scriptures: both before and after meat we may take the Holy Book in hand to our no small advantage, and administer Spiritual food unto our Souls.

Chrysostom. In Genesis. Homil. vi. x. xxix.

Origen exhorts us to act according to Christ's commandment, and *Search the Scriptures*. In which sentiments both St. Jerome and Theodoret likewise agree, declaring that all men ought to have the Word of God, and strive who should be best acquainted with the Scriptures.

† Epist. xi. lib. 1.

‡ Contra Apostolicos Hære, lxi.

§ De virginitate Servanda ad Demetriadem.

of opinion that such marriage is ratified and valid, and ought not to be revoked. But the Romish Church, if a man has ever pledged his oath to the contrary, even though when impelled by passion he may riot, and contaminate himself in scenes of debauchery and profligate dissipation, still denies him the privilege of matrimony : and if perchance he has taken a Wife, it denies the validity of the Marriage, and holds it to be more consistent with Holiness of Life to live in a state of open fornication with a Mistress.*

The number of
idle Ceremonies.

The Ancient Father St. Augustin complained of the number of frivolous ceremonies, by which he saw the minds and consciences of men were burdened. Our adversaries, as if God cared for nothing else, have so multiplied them, that scarcely a vestige of any thing else remains in their Churches and Devotions.

* In a former note I have discussed this subject at large, and refer my readers to the Defence of the Apology, and the Exposition of the Twenty-seven Popish Articles of Faith, which are so ably discussed by this learned Prelate.

The Order of
Monks.

The same Ancient Father * denies that a Monk can lawfully pass a life of indolent Ease ;† and under the specious appearance of sanctity subsist upon the labours and fortunes of others : and he who does so is, by Apollonius, another Patriarch, assimilated to a robber. Where the Popish Superstition prevails, there are, shall I say herds or flocks of, Monks who not only spend their whole existence in Indolence, but, far from assuming the appearance of sanctity, live and riot in luxuries furnished at the expense of other individuals. ‡ The Ancient Council of Rome decreed that no one should participate in the service performed by a Priest, who was known to keep a Mistress. The modern Papists let out Concubines to hire to their Priests, and

* De Opere Monachorum.

† St. Jerome declares that it was a Law amongst the Monks in Egypt, That he who would not labour should not eat.

Hieron. ad Rusticum, et in Vita Hilari.

And St. Augustin says, *Nihil Dei servis pejus est otiositate, operentur ergo in nomini Domini.* In the servants of God nothing is worse than idleness, let them labour therefore in the name of the Lord.

Augustin ad Fratres in Eremo. Sermo. i.

‡ Canon iii.

forcibly compel men to attend their Sacrilegious Services.* The †ancient Apostolic Canons ordain that the Bishop who combines the Civil and Ecclesiastical functions be degraded. Our adversaries will and actually do combine the two; or rather they neglect that which should be the object of their more peculiar solicitude: and still no one is found to enforce the removal. The ancient Council of Gangra ordered that no distinction be drawn between a married and unmarried Priest; as if the simple act of celibacy should be considered to confer a superior degree of sanctity. Our adversaries on the contrary have distinguished them in such a manner as to deem the Ministry of a married man, however pious and virtuous, a Profanation of their Sacred Rites.

* Quis sapiens judicabit eos esse Sacerdotes, qui nec a Fornicationibus abinent ?

Zacharias Papa. in Epist. ad Bonif.

Facta Papæ excusantur, ut Adulterium Jacob.

Communiter dicitur, quod pro simplici Fornicatione quis deponi non debet, cum pauci sine illo vitio inveniantur.

Ideo licet notoria sit Fornicatio, tamen non est propter eam abstinendum ab officiis Presbyterorum. All these and many more are cited from the Popish writers, in *The Defence of the Apologie*, p. 511.

† Canon viii.

Divine Service
to be performed
in an audible
voice.

That the multitude might derive some advantage, the service was ordered by the ancient Emperor * Justinian to be performed with a clear, loud, and expressive tone of voice.† To defeat this object our adversaries mutter every word not only with an indistinct and inaudible voice; but in a foreign and ‡ barbarous language.

The Canonical
Scriptures
alone to be read
in Churches.

§ The || Ancient Council of Carthage enjoins that nothing but the Canonical Scriptures be read in the Congregation:

* In Novellis. Const. cxxiii.

† It was, says Bishop Jewell, the good Emperour's commandement, and meaninge, that al thinges shoulde be so uttered in the Congregation, distinctly, and plainly, with lowde and open voice, that the people might understande, and answeare *Amen*.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 516.

‡ St. Paul considers every language *Barbarous*, that is unknown to the hearer. "Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a Barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a Barbarian unto me."

1 *Corinthians* xiv. 11.

§ Tertium Carth. cap. xlvii.

|| The words of the Council of Hippo, as the Third Council of Carthage is sometimes called, are *Scripturæ Canonicæ in Ecclesia legendæ quæ sunt; et præter quas alia non legantur*. The Canonical Scriptures, which are to be read in the Church, and they alone.

Concil. Hippon. cap. xxxviii.

our adversaries read in their Churches that which they do not themselves hesitate to pronounce mere lies and trash. Now if any one considers these Injunctions of little importance, because they are merely the edicts of Emperors and certain inferior Bishops, and not the acts of full and general Councils; and is more fascinated with the splendour of Papal Authority; Pope

A similar Decree passed in the Council of Laodicea. “*Sabbatis Evangelia cum aliis scripturis legenda esse censemus.*” We are of opinion that the Gospel and other Scriptures should be read on the Sabbath day; and shortly after, this more explicit statement is made, “*Non oportet Libros, qui sunt extra Canonem, legere, nisi solos Canonicos veteris et Novi Testamenti.*” We ought not to read any Books without the Canon, but *only the Canonical Books* of the Old and New Testament.

Concil. Laodic. cap. xvi. et lix.

Erasmus, when discoursing on this head, says, “*Apparet, non nisi Apostolicas Literas olim legi solitas in Templis, aut certe virorum Apostolicæ Authoritatis.*” It appears that formerly none but the Apostolical writings were accustomed to be read in Churches, or at least the writings of men of Apostolic authority.

Erasmus in annotation. in Hieron. De Ecclesias. Scripturis.

And Abbas Ansigisus, in his report of the Ecclesiastical Decrees of the French Kings Lewis and Charles, hath a similar observation, “*In Templis tantum Canonici Libri, id est Sacræ Literæ legantur.*” Let the Canonical Books alone, that is, the Holy Scriptures, be read in the Church.

Ansigisus lib. i. cap. 9. Ed. Parisiis, Anno 1550.

Julius* expressly forbids the Priest, whilst celebrating the Holy Mysteries, to dip the Bread into the Cup. In opposition to this order our adversaries divide and immerse the Bread.†

* De consec. dist. ii. cum enim nemo.

† The accusation here brought against the Papists, is precisely the same that St. Julius alleged against their Fathers. You, says the Bishop, dippe the Breade into the Cuppe, and so did they. They brake Christe's Institution, and so doo you." Pope Julius therefore addressed them in these words, "Hoc quam sit Apostolicæ, et Evangelicæ Doctrinæ contrarium, et consuetudini Ecclesiasticæ adversum, non difficile ab ipso fonte veritatis probatur, a quo ordinata ipsa Sacramentorum Mysteria processerunt." How far this is contrary to the Apostolical and Evangelical Doctrine, and to the Custom of the Church, can easily be proved by the Fountain of Truth, by whom the Mysteries of the Sacraments were ordained, and from whom they first proceeded.

Erasmus in the book just cited, exclaims with the greatest contempt, "At this time every fool's Dreams, nay, the doting fancies of half-witted females are read with the Holy Scriptures." Polydore Vergil informs us, "Multorum Divorum vitas recitant, tametsi parum ad fidem scriptas." They read the lives of many of their Saints, though not written according to truth.

Polydôr. Vergil in Orat. Dominic.

And Ludovicus Vives, speaking of the celebrated "Legenda Aurea," which Bishop Jewell calls The mother of al their devoute Ecclesiastical Stories, or Fables, says, "nescio cur Aurea dici debeat, cum scripta sit ab homine ferrei oris, et plumbei Cordis, et plenissima sit impudentissimis mendaciis." I see no cause why it should be called the *Golden Legend*, since it was written by a man of an *iron* countenance, and

Pope Clement denies that a Bishop can lawfully bear both* swords; and adds, if thou wilt have both, thou deceivest both thyself and thy hearers.† But now the Pope vindicates his authority to bear both, and does so: and therefore it ought to excite the less astonishment if

leaden Heart, and abounds with the most shameless lies; such Truths are devoutly and solemnly read and expounded in the Romish Church.

Lavaterus in Proverbia Salomonis, p. 134.

* Namely, the Spiritual and Civil.

† The words of Clement are, “Si mundialibus curis fueris occupatus, et te ipsum decipies, et eos, qui te audiunt.” If thou art occupied with worldly cares, thou wilt deceive both thyself and those that listen to thee. And St. Bernard in his Letter to Pope Eugenius has the following passage on this subject, “Planum est Apostolis interdicti Dominatum. I ergo tu, et tibi usurpare aude, aut dominans Apostolatium: aut Apostolus Dominatum: plane ab alterutro prohiberis. Si utrunque similiter habere velis, perdes utrunque.” It is plain that unto the Apostles of Christ Temporal Authority is forbidden. Go thy way therefore, and dare to usurp either the Apostleship, enjoying temporal authority: or temporal authority, being an Apostle. From one of them undoubtedly thou art prohibited. If thou indifferently aimest at both, you will lose both.

Bern. de Consider. lib. ii.

And the Apostolic Canons declare that a Bishop and a Priest may not involve themselves in the execution of worldly offices; but have leisure from mundane cares, and shew themselves meet for the use of the Church. For no man can serve two masters.

Canon. Apost. lxxx.

the predicted consequences have ensued : if he has deceived both himself and his hearers. Pope Leo says it is unlawful to say more than one mass a day in the same Church. They daily say in the same Church ten, twenty, thirty, and often more ; so that the bewildered Spectator knows not whither to turn. Pope Gelasius pronounces the man guilty of the crime of Sacrilege who divides the Eucharist, and partakes of only one of the Elements.* Our adversaries, in opposition to the Divine Command, in opposition to the Papal Authority, enjoin that only one of the Elements be administered to the people ; and thus involve their Priests in the crime of † Sacrilege.

* Let the Papist consult his own Mass Book, and he will find this expression : *Hæc sacra sancta COMMIXTIO CORPORIS, et SANGUINIS. Domini nostri Jesu Christi fiat mihi, et omnibus sumentibus* salus animæ et Corporis. May this Holy MINGLING OF THE BODY AND BLOOD of our Lord Jesus Christ, be unto me, and unto *all that receive* it the Health both of Soul and Body. These words *omnibus sumentibus* cannot possibly apply to the Priest alone, but must of necessity extend to all the people. And here I would ask by what authority either of Holy Writ, Ancient Council, or Primitive Christian Doctor, the Popish Priests receive the Sacrament *themselves* in *Both Kinds*, but refuse to administer the Cup to the People.

† Where finde you either your Private Masse ; or your *halfe*

But if they say these acts have become antiquated, and obsolete unconnected with the period of time in question; in order that all may know what confidence can be placed in these men, and with what views they convoke Councils; let us briefly consider the regard they pay to *those decrees* which recently, within the last few years, were ordained to be observed with sacred fidelity in a general Council legally convened.

Pluralities. In the last Council of Trent,* scarcely fourteen years since, it was voted without one dissentient voice that no one at the same time should hold two Benefices. What has now become of that decree? Is it already become antiquated and obsolete? For we not only see two Benefices, but often many Monasteries, and two, three, and even four Bishopricks entrusted to one person: and that not only to men unqualified by their ignorance, but even to Military Characters.

Communion; or your accidentes without subjecte: or the reste of your like vanities, wherewith ye have so longe time deceived the Worlde?

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 496.

* March 3, 1547.

The same Council decreed that all Bishops should preach the Gospel. So far however are they from attending to this, that they never even ascend the Pulpit, nor consider it as constituting the least part of their duty. To what purpose therefore is all this pompous parade about Antiquity? Why do they exult so immoderately in the names of the Fathers, and the Ancient and Modern Councils? Why will they pretend to rely upon that authority which they contemptuously neglect at pleasure? But I am anxious personally to enter into the lists of Controversy with the Pope himself.

Tell me then, Holy!! Father!! with whom Antiquity is the never-ceasing theme; to whom it is your boast that all men owe allegiance: Tell me which of the Fathers ever styled you * Su-

* By the following note extracted from Bishop Jewell's reply to Harding, it will be seen that the title of "Summus Sacerdos," which is usurped by the Popes on the supposed authority of the Ancient Fathers, was by those Holy Men assigned to any Bishop who exercised the supreme authority in his own Diocese; "But for thy better satisfaction, good Christian Reader, it is well known to any meane Studente in Divinitie, that, not onely the Bishop of Rome, but also every other Bishop within his owne Diocese was commonly called the Highest Prieste."

preme Pontiff, Universal Bishop, or Head of the Church? * By whom were you armed with the

Tertullian * saithe, “Dandi Baptismum jus habet summus Sacerdos qui est Episcopus:” The Higheste Prieste, that is the Bishop, hath authoritie to minister Baptism. † St. Augustin saithe, “Quid est Episcopus, nisi Primus Presbyter, hoc est Summus Sacerdos?” What is a Bishop but the firste Prieste, that is to saie, the Highest Prieste? ‡ St. Ambrose writing not unto the Pope, but unto Fælix the Bishop of Comum, saithe thus, “Suscepisti Gubernacula Summi Sacerdotii:” Thou haste taken the Governmente of the Highest Priesthoode.—Againe he saithe, speakinge likewise of any one Bishop, “Vidisti Summum Sacerdotem Interrogantem, et Consecrantem.” Thou sawest the Highest Prieste examininge the People, that was to be Baptized, and consecrating the Water.§

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 526-7.

* One of the Popes declared that to him belonged of right both the Heavenly and Earthly Empire! Pope Boniface VIII. openly wore the Crown Imperial, and commanded the naked Sword to be borne before him, and Proclamation to be made. Ecce duo Gladii hic. Behold here are *the two Swords*. It was said of this Pontiff that “he entered like a Fox; reigned as a Wolf; and died as a Dog.”

Paralipom, Urspergensis, Carion, &c.

Hervey, in his work concerning the Papal Authority, says, Unum istorum Gladiorum Petrus non tetigit, scilicet Sæcularem, qui suus non erat. One of these Swords Peter never even touched, namely the Secular or Temporal Sword, for that was not his.

Herveus De Potestate Papæ, cap. xviii.

With whom St. Cyprian agrees, Christus actibus propriis,

* Tertullian De Baptismo.

† Augustin in quæstionibus ex utroque Testamento quæst. 101.

‡ Ambros. Lib. i. Epist. 5.

§ Ambrosius de Iis qui initiantur, cap. 3.

Temporal and Spiritual Swords? * Whence is your Authority derived of convening Councils? † Who assigned you the whole world for your Diocese? Which of the Fathers ever said that from the Plenitude of Papal Authority the Bishop received his Sacerdotal Character? Which of them alleges that all Power is given unto you both in Heaven and in Earth? Who declares you exempt from the judicial authority of Monarchs; of the whole body of the Clergy; and in a word of all people? Which of them says that by the express command and will of Christ all Princes and Poten-

et dignitatibus distinctis, Officia Potestatis utriusque discrevit. Christ by appropriate Duties, and distinct dignities, has divided the Offices of either power; on which passage the *Popish* Commentator observes, Ergo est argumentum, quod Papa non habet utrumque Gladium: This therefore is an argument that the Pope ought not to have both the Swords.

Dist. x. Quoniam idem.

* De Major et obed. Unam Sanctam in Extravag. Bonifac. VIII. Durandus Concil. Later sub Julio ii^o.

† Not to multiply authorities against the assumption of this right, I would merely observe that the four first great Councils of Nice, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and Constantinople: were convened by the Emperors, and not by the Pope. At that period indeed the whole world was not under his Spiritual controul, nor did he possess either power or authority to call Councils; but was himself commanded by the Emperor, like other Prelates, to attend the Councils.

tates derive their power from you? * Who has calculated with such nice mathematical precision that you are seventy times seven greater than the most powerful Monarchs? Which of them ever declared your authority superior to that of the other Patriarchs? By which of them have you been proclaimed Lord God; or not a mere natural man, but something compounded, and as it were proceeding from both God and Man? Which of them has ever professed his Belief that you were the fountain of all Law? That you had dominion over Purgatory?† or were the arbitrary Ruler of the Angels of God? Did they ever speak of you as ‡ King of Kings, and Lord of

* *Distinct. ix. Innocentii de major in obed. solite in Extravag. Johan. xxii. c. cum inter nonnullos. In glossa finali in impressa Editione, Parisiis, 1508.*

† Antonius de Rosellis.

‡ Bishop Bonner declares that notwithstanding the Pope be a ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, yet he calleth himself "the Servant of Servants."

Bonner in Præfat. in libel. Step. Gardiner de vera obed.

Hear the words of Jewell on this subject: "Good Reader, pul of this painted Visarde; and under this vaine title of Servant of Servantes, thou shalt finde a Lorde of Lordes. For proufe hereof, thus the Pope himself saith: * "Neither Em-

* *Epistola Nicolai Papæ, inter Decreta Adriani Papæ. Concil. tomo i. In purgatione Sixti.*

Lords? We can here, whilst we are upon the subject, enumerate a few more things of the same nature. What individual of all the Ancient Bishops and Fathers ever taught you to say private Mass; the people being mere spectators? or to elevate the Host; in which Rites the whole of your Religion is now comprized? Which of them again hath authorized you to mutilate the Sacraments of Christ; and, in opposition to his express command and institution, to defraud the people of one of the Elements? * And to con-

perour nor Kinge maie judge the Pope,” and his reason is this, *Non est servus supra Dominum*: For the (Emperoure beinge a) Servante, is not above (the Pope, that is) his Lorde. Thus yee see, he that so humbly calleth himselfe the *Servante of Servantes*, if ye touche him, or anger him, wil suddainely change himself into the *Kinge of Kinges* and *Lorde of Lordes*. For in these wordes he plainly and expressly calleth the Emperoure the Servante, and himselfe the Lorde.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 544.

* The words of our Saviour himself amply prove the absurdity and impiety of this practice of the Roman Church, “Except ye EAT the FLESH of the SON of MAN, and DRINK his BLOOD, you have no Life in you. John vi. 53.

See also The Book of Bertram, p. 43. Ed. 1686,

“But for the particular Church of Rome, and the Pope with it, erred it hath, and therefore may err: Erred I say in the Worship of Images, and in altering Christ's Institution in the Blessed Sacrament, by taking away the Cup from the People.”

clude at once, can you instance any one single individual of all the Fathers who taught you to make distributions of the Blood of Christ and the Merits of the Martyrs; to dispose of your * Indulgences, and to sell as it were Apart-

Again, in speaking of the opinions of the Papists respecting Communion in both kinds, "Consider now with me, is this an Error or not? Bellarmine, Stapleton, and you too say 'tis not, because to receive under both kinds is not by Divine Right. No? No sure: For it was not Christ's *Precept*, but his *Example*. Why, but I had thought that Christ's *Institution* of a *Sacrament* had been more than his *Example* only, and as binding for the *necessaries* of a Sacrament, the *matter* and *form*, as a *Precept*. Therefore speake out, and deny it to be Christ's Institution; or else grant with Stapleton it is a damnable error to go against it. If you can prove that Christ's Institution is not as binding to us as his Precept, (which you shall never be able) take the Precept with it, *Drink ye all of this*, which though you shift as you can, yet you can never make it other than this: A BINDING PRECEPT.

Archbishop Laud against Fisher the Jesuit, p. 12. 170. folio Ed. Lond. 1686.

* Sylvester Prierias, the master of the Pope's Palace, has left us in no doubt as to the source of this criminal and impious traffic: *Indulgentia Autoritate Scripturæ non innotuere nobis; sed autoritate Ecclesiæ Romanæ, Romanorumque Pontificum, quæ major est.* Pardons are not known to us by the authority of the Scriptures; but by the authority of the Church of Rome, and the Popes, which is greater!!!

Sylvester Prierias. Contra Lutherum.

No better or more forcible argument can be adduced to

ments* in Purgatory in the Public Markets? Our adversaries have dwelt much upon a certain recondite doctrine of their own, and their extensive and various readings. Let them produce some proof of it, and at least that they have read and do know something.

They have exclaimed confidently in all circles, that every part of their Religion bears the stamp of Antiquity, and is confirmed not by the multitude

prove the madness and impiety of the Popes, and the folly and ignorance of the Papists in general, than a belief in these idle fantasies. They would do well to attend to the words of St. Augustin: *Fratres, Jesum Christum Justum habemus advocatum apud Patrem. Ipse est propitiatio pro peccatis nostris: Hoc qui tenuit, Hæresim non fecit: Hoc qui tenuit, Schisma non fecit. Unde enim facta sunt schismata? Cum dicunt homines, nos justi sumus; nos sanctificamus immundos: nos justificamus impios: nos petimus: nos impetramus. My Brethren, we have Jesus Christ the Righteous, our Advocate with the Father: He is the Propitiation or PARDON for our Sins. He that held this Doctrine never committed Heresy; never Schism. For whence arise Schisms? Where men exclaim, (like the Pope), we are just; we sanctify the ungodly; we obtain Pardon for Sinners; we pray; we succeed.* *Augustin in Epist. Johan. tract i.*

* Bishop Jewell in his Defence, states, that the Popish Priests sold openly their pardones, and al the *roomes* and *lodgings* of Purgatorie, as a gaineful kinde of marchandise."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 545.

only, but by the uninterrupted consent of every nation and age. Let them at least shew us this Antiquity; let them clearly prove this extensive propagation of *their* Religion, and the Conversion of every Christian Country to *their* Persuasion. But as we before said, they fly from their own decrees; and those acts which a few years ago they sanctioned as of Eternal Obligation, have been in as short a period rescinded. What confidence then can we place in their assertions respecting the Fathers—the Ancient Councils—the Word of God? They have not, gracious God! they have not either the Antiquity; or the Universality, or the Consent of all Ages and Nations of which they thus arrogantly boast: and of this they are themselves by no means ignorant; although they would fain dissemble their knowledge. Sometimes indeed they have plainly confessed as much; and therefore they allege that occasionally the Decrees of the Ancient Councils and Fathers may require Emendation to meet the Exigencies of the Church. It is thus that they screen themselves behind its walls, and by false artifices impose upon the credulity of mankind. And it is truly marvellous that men should either be so blind as not to detect these imposi-

tions, or if conscious of them, that they should with such unruffled equanimity endure this state of Mental Bondage.

But when they repealed these antiquated and obsolete decrees they replaced them perhaps, by others less defective ; for, they have the assurance to assert, that were Christ himself, or his Apostles to rise from the dead, the administration of the Church of God could not be conducted with more Propriety and Holiness than it now is by them. * They have indeed substituted new Dogmas and Decrees ; but, as Jeremiah says ; † chaff instead of wheat ; or, as Isaiah tells us ; ‡ those things which God hath not required at their hands. They have stopped up all the veins of living water ; they have hewn out for the people of God ruinous and muddy cisterns, full of mire and filth : cisterns, which have no pure water ; which cannot contain any. § They have torn from the

“ * If Christ himself or his Apostles were alive again, the word, that is to say, the doctrine of our belief, so preached and received in the Catholic (Popish) Church, neither should be altered, nor could be bettered.”

Harding's Confutation.

† Jeremiah xxiii. 28.

‡ Isaiah i. 12.

§ Bishop Jewell in his defence accuses the Papal advocates

people the Holy Communion; they have robbed them of the Word of God; the source and fountain of all consolation: they have caused them to wander from the true worship of the Deity; from the right use of the Sacraments and * Prayers of the Church. But, that we might have wherewithal to amuse ourselves in the interim, they have given us their own invention, Salt, Waters, Oils, Spit-tle, Palms, Bulls, Jubilees, Indulgences, Crosses, Incense, with an infinite number of Ceremonies: and as Plautus says; † ludicrous sports. In these things alone does their Religion consist. These they

of having effected an entire change in the Doctrine of the Apostles, and addresses them in the words of the Prophet Malachi: “Ye have departed out of the way, ye have caused many to stumble at the Law, ye have corrupted the Covenant of Levi, saith the Lord of Hosts; therefore have I also made you contemptible and base before all the people, according as ye have not kept my ways.”

Malachi ii. 8. 9.

* The words of our Saviour may well be applied to the Papists, who make their prayers in a Language unknown to the People. “The People draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me.” But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.

Matthew xv. 8. 9.

† *Ludos Ludificabiles.* Shows and Pageants that are very amusing and entertaining, but utterly useless.

have taught the people to believe are the proper means of propitiating God ; * of expelling Demons ; of quieting and confirming the Consciences of men. These forsooth are the Orient Colours, the Precious Balms of the Christian Religion : these are grateful and acceptable in the eyes of God : this was the Edifice to be erected upon the Ruins of the Institutions left us by Christ and his Apostles. The impious Jeroboam, having revolted from the service of God, and induced the people to worship the golden calves ; † to prevent a relapse in their inclinations, their defection from himself, and their return to serve God in his temple at Jerusalem ; in a long speech exhorts them to constancy ; “ Behold, says he, thy Gods, O Israel ! ” thus has your God commanded you to worship him. “ It is too much for you to undertake so long a journey, and

* Augustine Steuchus, one of the most esteemed Popish Doctors, writes thus : *Aquas, sale et orationibus sanctificamus, ut ad earum aspersum nostra deleantur delicta* : We hallow Water with Salt and Prayer, that by the sprinkling thereof our Sins may be forgiven. And the Roman Pontifical declares that the consecrated Water, Ashes, Palms, Candles, &c. are profitable for the Salvation of both Soul and Body.

August. Steuchus in lib. numerorum cap. xix. and the Pontifical.

† 1 Book of Kings xii. 28.

to go up every year to Jerusalem, to pay your homage and worship to God." In like manner our opponents, (having once made the Law of God of none effect by their Traditions, lest the eyes of the people should afterwards be opened, and abandoning them they should seek in some other quarter a surer method of Salvation;) "Oh!" how often have they exclaimed, "this is the worship with which God is delighted! this the worship he exacts from you! this the worship by which his anger may be appeased! in these acts the Unity of the Church consists! by these acts all sin may be expiated! by these acts every conscience may be tranquillized! for ever bereft of hope of eternal salvation is he who departs from them!! But to have recourse to Christ, the Apostles, and the Ancient Fathers, to be perpetually harassed with their Ordinances and Commands, is too much to impose upon Mankind!!"

Is this a proper way to entice the people of God from the weak Elements of the World, from the Leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, from Human Traditions. Are the Commandments of Christ and his Apostles, to be displaced, that these may

succeed? O! most righteous cause, most forcible argument for antiquating those sound Doctrines approved and established for so many ages, and introducing into the Church of God a new form of Religion!!!

Be its character however what it may, they still protest against any change. It is the Decree of the Unerring Church of Rome, and Men must acquiesce. For what says * Sylvester Prierias? The Roman Church is the rule and the model of truth: upon its sanction the Holy Scriptures depend for their influence and credit: its doctrines constitute an infallible guide to purity of faith: and are the source from which Holy Writ draws all its strength. It is not, he adds, upon the

* For that yee doubte the truthe of our allegations, reade Sylvester Prierias, Maister of the Pope's palace, in his Booke entituled *Contra præsumptuosas Martini Lutheri Conclusiones de potestate Papæ*. His wordes there amongst others be these: Quicumque non innitur Doctrinæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, ac Romani Pontificis, tanquam Regulæ Dei infallibili, a qua etiam Sacra Scriptura robur trahit, et auctoritatem, Hæreticus est. Whosoever leaneth not to the doctrine of the Romaine Church, and of the Bishop of Rome, as unto the infallible rule of God, of whiche doctrine the Holy Scriptures taketh force and authoritie, he is an Heretique."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 557.

authority of Scripture that indulgences are granted, it is upon the weightier authority of the Church and Pontiffs of Rome. And Pighius * hesitates not to affirm, that without the sanction of the Popish Church, the plainest matters of Scripture are not to be believed. † It is a parallel case

* The words of Pighius are : “ Nullius Scripturæ auctoritate, quantum libet claræ, nostro quidem iudicio et evidentis, adversus claram, consonantemque Othodoxorum patrum sententiam, et adversus communem Ecclesiæ definitionem aliquid credere cuiquam licere.” No one can lawfully believe any thing by the authority of Scripture, however plain and evident it may appear to our judgment, against the clear and unanimous opinion of the Catholic Fathers, and the general determination of the Church.

Albertus Pighius in locis communibus de Eccles.

Nor are these sentiments confined to one or two Papists, but are common to the great body of their writers. Consult for instance Cardinal Cusanus, de Auctoritate Ecclesiæ et Concilii *supra et contra* Scripturas, and a work of John Maria Verractus, published on the same subject. A. D. 1561.

† Let the advocates for the antiquity and power of the Papal See attentively peruse these short extracts from the writings of St. Augustine whom the Papists are very anxious on all occasions to cite as authority for their proceedings, and they will not fail to see that the position assumed by Pighius, Prierias and others is wholly untenable. “ Ecclesiam quærere debemus in Verbis Christi, qui est veritas, et optime novit corpus suum.—Ecclesiam sine ulla ambiguitate Sancta Scriptura demonstrat.—In Scripturis Sacris Ecclesia manifeste cognoscitur.—Ecclesiam sicut ipsum caput, in Scripturis

with that of a person who, incapable of speaking correct and pure Latinity, yet able from his forensic pursuits to run over a few Latin words, should insist upon the propriety of generally adopting that unclassical dialect, in which Mammetrectus and Catholicon many years preceded him, and which still prevails in the Law Courts, and should argue, that as it was sufficiently intelligible, and answered all practical purposes, it would be folly to disturb the world by the introduction of a new system of oratory, and the restoration of that old but pure eloquence which

sanctis canonicis debemus agnoscere. We must seek the Church in the words of Christ, who is the Truth, and best knows his own Body.—The Holy Scriptures point out the Church in the most indisputable manner.—In the Holy Scriptures the Church is plainly known.—We must discover the Church as we do (Christ) the Head in the Holy Canonical Scriptures.” * I would therefore address the Papist in the words of this great man : *Cum non Evangelicæ Authoritati, tam fundatæ, tam stabilitæ, tanta gloria diffamatæ, atque ab apostolorum temporibus, usque ad nostra tempora, per successiones certissimas commendatæ te non subdis?*—Why do you not rather submit yourself to the authority of the Gospel, being so well grounded, so firmly established, published abroad with such glory, and commended and delivered to us by uninterrupted succession and undoubted authority, from the times of the Apostles even unto this day ? †

cap. ii. xvi.

* Augustin *Contra Cresconi Grammat.* Lib. i. cap. 33. and *De Unitate Ecclesiæ.*

† *Contra Faustum.* lib. xxxii. cap. 19.

flowed from the tongues and pens of a Cicero and a Cæsar.

So much indeed are they indebted to the ignorance and darkness of former ages, that according to a certain * Author; "Many things are held in the greatest estimation merely because they were once consecrated in the Temple of the Gods:" and we at this day know that much is approved and highly valued by our adversaries, not for its intrinsic worth, but because it has received the stamp of custom, and by some means or other been dedicated to the service of the Church.

But our Church is infallible they say. In the same sense, I suppose, as the Lacædæmonians of old were accustomed to affirm that no instance of adultery could be detected in their Republic; whereas the truth rather was, that all were adulterers. Their marriages were enveloped in uncertainty, and they had a community of wives.

Or perhaps they speak in the same sense as

* Caius Plinius.

the luxurious * Canonists at the present hour do of the Pope; who, as Lord of all Benefices, although he make no gratuitous Presentations, nor suffer any Bishoprick, Monastery, or Rectory to be disposed of without an adequate premium, as they are his own property, is represented to be incapable, if he wished it ever so much, of committing Simony. †

* Summa Angelica, in dictione Papæ, and Theodoricus de Schismate.

† For a full and able exposée of the Simoniacal practices of the Pope, consult the Defence of the Apology, p. 561-4. Ludovicus Vives informs us that at Rome all things were bought and sold: Durandus declares that * “Simony prevails in the Church of Rome as if it were no sin.” We ought not however to be astonished that those men who hesitate not to dispose of the † *Sacrament* for money, should sell the temporalities of the Church. Pope Alexander, whose name has before been *honourably* introduced, was so notorious for his nefarious practices, that distiches and lampoons were continually circulated respecting him:

“Vendit Alexander Claves, Altaria, Christum.

Vendere jure potest; emerat; ipse prius.”

Musculus in Johannem, cap. vi.

The truth of these assertions indeed has never been called in question; for the practice is approved and defended.” *Simonia non cadit in Papam recipientem.* † Though the Pope receive money, he is not guilty of Simony.”—*Papa non di-*

* Durandus de modo Celebrandi Concilii. Tit. xx.

† Summa Angelica de Simonia. † Baldus de officio Prætoris.

The strength of this position, and its harmony with Reason we cannot yet discover; unless indeed they have clipped the pinions of Truth as soon as she visited them; as the ancient Romans did * those of Victory, that she might not afterwards fly away. But what if † Jeremiah should tell them, as was before observed, that these are lying words? What if he tell them, that they who should have been the vine-dressers, have consumed and “eaten up” ‡ the Lord’s vine? What if Christ says, that they, whose duty it was to have watched over the Church with the most careful solicitude, § have made that Church a den of thieves?”||

citur facere Simoniam conferendo beneficia, et dignitates accepta premia” * The Pope is not said to commit Simony though he disposes of the Benefices and Dignities of the Church for money.—Papa non potest committere Simoniam; sic tenent Juristæ; quia Simonia excusatur per auctoritatem ejus; † according to the Canonists, the Pope cannot commit Simony; for Simony by his authority is excused.—The same opinions are held by Panormitan, Felinus, Archidiaconus Florentinus, Hostiensis and others, whom it is here unnecessary to enumerate.

* Bartolus de eodem

† Theodoricus de Schismate inter Urban, et Clement. Lib. ii. Cap. 32.

* Plutarch. † Jeremiah vii. 4.

‡ Jeremiah xii. 9. § Matt. xx. 13.

|| “Per nummularios significantur Beneficii Ecclesiastici

But suppose for a moment that the Popish Church cannot err; even then must her good fortune be much greater than their prudence. For such is the tenor of their lives, the nature of their doctrines, and their diligence in displaying them, that not only is their Church buried in error, but in danger of total extinction. For if to have wandered from the Word of God, the Commands of Christ, the Institutions of the Apostles, the Examples of the Primitive Church, the Canons and Decrees of the Ancient Fathers and Councils; nay even from its own positive Enactments;—if to be bound by no laws, ancient

Venditores; qui domum Dei faciunt speluncam latronum:” By the money changers are signified the venders of Ecclesiastical Benefices, who make the House of God a Den of Thieves. Again, Prophetæ Hierusalem non habent in ore prophetiam: et in Domino requiescunt et dicunt; “Non venient super nos mala.” Quorum causa speculatorium Dei hostili aratro dividitur; et locus quondam pacis, ruinis plenus fit: et Templum Domini in vepres, spinasque convertitur, et est Habitaculum bestiarum. The prophets of Jerusalem have no word of Prophecy in their mouths; yet they rest upon the Lord, and say “There shall no evil come upon us;” For whose sakes the watch tower of the Lord is turned up with the enemies plough: the place of peace is full of ruin; the Temple of the Lord is overgrown with thorns and briars, and is become an habitation for wild beasts.

Hieronymus, in Mic. cap. iv.

or modern, domestic or foreign, human or divine—if in this consists *Error*, then is the Church of Rome not infallible;—then has she been guilty of the most flagrant crimes; the most shameful conduct!!

They will perhaps say that we were once of their Communion, but are now Apostates and have forsaken them. True indeed we have done so; and for this very cause we offer our most sincere and grateful thanks to the Lord God Omnipotent, and also rejoice on our own behalf.*

* At a period when even the most strenuous advocates and warmest admirers of Popery, were compelled to acknowledge that “Rome was a School of Error and Temple of Heresy,”* when in the Council of Rheims a Popish Prelate apostrophized the Eternal City in these words; O lugenda Roma, quæ nostris majoribus clara Patrum Lumina protulisti; nostris temporibus monstrosas tenebras, futuro sæculo famosas, offudisti. Oh! miserable Rome, who in the time of our ancestors produced the shining Lights of the Holy Fathers, in our days nothing has proceeded from thee but darkness, desolation, and Eternal Infamy.† At such a period to have calmly submitted to the usurped authority of “the King of Pride,” would have argued a total indifference to the pure precepts and sublime morality of the Gospel. If any doubts of the corruptions of the Church of Rome still remain, we would refer our readers to the History

* Petrarch in *Rithmis Italicis*. “Schola di Errori, è Templo di Eresia.”

† Arnulphus in *Concil. Rheim.*

At the same time however we assert that we have neither forsaken the Primitive Church, Christ, nor the Apostles. We were indeed educated with them in darkness and ignorance of God, as Moses was in the learning and discipline of the Egyptians. We were of your number, saith Tertullian,* I confess, nor is that wonderful; for men are not Christians by birth, but by Education. But wherefore, allow me to ask, have they themselves descended from those seven hills on which their Rome formerly stood, and fixed their habitations in the plains of the Field of Mars? They will probably answer that the Aqueducts, without which they could not conveniently reside in so exalted a situation, are now in ruins. Let them then grant us the same Liberty with respect to the Water of Eternal

of the proceedings of the Council of Trent, wherein Antonius Marinarius declares that the Papists are mere nominal Christians; and the Bishop of Bitonto openly accuses them of every description of crime and error; and even their own Popes have admitted that * Charity is grown cold amongst them, and Faith totally destroyed, whilst Pride, Avarice, and Luxury, bear undisputed sway.

* Æneas Sylvius (Pius II.) in *Epistola ad Casparem Schlickium*, and *Paralipom. Urspergen in Clemen. V.*

* Tertullian in *Apologetico*.

Life, which they themselves require in seeking the perishable Water of the Fountain. The springs had now failed them. *The Elders*, saith Jeremiah, * *sent their little ones to the waters, they came to the Pits and found no water, they returned with their Vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads.* And † Isaiah informs us that *the poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst.* They had destroyed all the Canals and Aque-ducts; they had stopped up all the Springs, and choked the Fountain of Living Water with mire and filth: and as Caligula by closing the Public Granaries formerly brought Famine and Destruction upon the Romans; so they by closing the fountain of God's Word have subjected the People to a miserable Thirst. They have in the words of the Prophet Amos ‡ brought upon the world a Drought and Famine; *not a famine of Bread, nor a thirst of Water, but of hearing the Words of the Lord.* Unhappy mortals in vain sought a small Spark of Divine Light to cheer their consciences; but they were all gone out, and they were unable to discover even one. Such was the wretched

* Jeremiah xiv. 3.

† Isaiah xli. 17.

‡ Amos viii. 11.

condition, such the appalling state of the Church of God : under their controul men dragged on a miserable existence, without a Gospel, without Light, without Hope !*

Although therefore our secession from their Church may have given the Papists considerable annoyance ; they ought to reflect on the justice of the Grounds by which our conduct was influenced : for if they presume to assert that no one can with propriety, however great the provocation, leave that Society in which he has been brought up ;† in that case the Prophets, the

* “ Wee have departed therefore, from shepeheardes that spoiled the flocke ; from Bishoppes, that destroied the Church ; that oppressed the Sprite of God ; that defied the Voice of the Prophetes ; that persecuted Christe in his members ; that bothe perished themselves, and killed others ; that walowed in monsters of filthinesse ; that lived as heathens under the name of Christe ; that were voide of Charitie ; voide of Faithe ; voide of discipline ; voide of Religion ; that were Christians only in titles and ceremonies ; from whom Christe had withdrawen his Blessinge : To be shorte, we have departed from the Temple of Heresie, and from the Schoole of Erroure.” All the above accusations brought by Jewell against the Church of Rome are taken from Popish writers whose works were known to him.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 569.

† On this point the works of the ancient Fathers may be advantageously consulted, and as they cannot be accused of inno-

Apostles, nay Christ himself are in our persons condemned. For why should they not with equal justice complain that Lot retired from Sodom; Abraham from Chaldæa; the Israelites

vation or hostility to Papacy, their opinions will have greater weight with our adversaries.

ST. AMBROSE says, *Nullus pudor est ad meliora transire.* It is no disgrace to renounce an error.

In Epist. ad Theodosium et Valent.

ST. AUGUSTIN observes, *ne Catholicis quidem Episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi forte fallantur, et contra Canonicas Scripturas aliquid sentiant:* We must not agree even with the *Catholic* Bishops if they chance to be deceived, and entertain opinions contrary to the Canonical Scriptures.

De Unitate Ecclesiæ, cap. x.

ST. CHRYSOSTOM does not hesitate to assert that, *Ex ipsis veris Ecclesiis frequenter exeunt seductores. Propterea nec ipsis omnino credendum est, nisi ea dicant vel faciant, quæ convenientia sint Scripturis.* Even from the True Church deceivers sometimes go forth; we must not therefore place implicit confidence in them, unless they both speak and act agreeable to the doctrines of the Holy Scriptures.

Chrysostom in Matt. Hom. xlix.

ST. CYPRIAN says, *Non est pax, sed bellum; nec Ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab Evangelio separatur.* It is no peace, but war; neither can he be connected with the Church, who is separated from the Gospel.

De lapsis Sermo. v.

In a word, as St. Chrysostom says, We have left with them the foundations of the walls, they have left with us the Foundations of the Scriptures; we have departed from them in the sight of man: they have departed from us in the judgment of God.

In Matt. Hom. xlvi.

from Egypt; our Saviour from the Jews; and Paul from the Pharisees. For unless it be allowed that there *may* be a just cause of separation, we see no reason why these should escape the charge of Faction and Sedition more than ourselves. And if we are to be branded as Heretics for refusing obedience to all their unjust decrees; what are they? In what light must they appear who treat the Commandments and Institutions of Christ and his Apostles with Contempt? If we are Schismatics who have withdrawn ourselves from their communion; by what name must they be distinguished who have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received their Doctrine;* who have deserted the Primitive

* The Papists have always been anxious to disprove the assertion here made, that the Church of Rome first received her Faith from the Church of Greece. In the early ages however no question was ever raised upon the subject: the words of St. Augustin are, * *Terra Græcia unde ubique destinata est Fides; Greece from whence the Faith was published abroad in all places: to which he afterwards adds, Radix Orientalium Ecclesiarum, unde Evangelium in Africam venit.* The foundation of the Eastern Churches, from whence the Gospel came into Africa. St. Chrysostom † thus addresses the people of Antioch, *Christianorum nomen, velut ex quodam fonte, hinc incipiens, omnem mundum inundavit.* The name of Christians

* Augustin Epist. clxx. clxxviii.

† Ad Populum Antiochen. Homil. xiv.

Church, Christ himself, and the Apostles, who may be considered their Spiritual Parents?

The Doctrines
of the Greek
Church.

Although it must be allowed that the Greeks, who at this time profess the Religion and Name of Christ, countenance many corrupt practices; still they retain no inconsiderable portion of the Institutions delivered to them and ordained by the Apostles. They do not therefore tolerate Private Masses, the Mutilation of the Sacrament, Purgatory, or Indulgences; they hold Papistical Titles, and magnificent Names in no respect whatever; and do not hesitate to call that man who assumes any such dignity, and is desirous of being saluted as Uni-

first springing up in this City (Antioch) as from a fountain, has spread over the whole world. * St. Basil, with whom also agrees Eusebius, declares that the Gospel of the Kingdom first sprung up in the Church of Greece, and not to multiply testimonies, the Emperor Justinian † calls Constantinople, the Everlasting Mother of Faith and Religion.

* Basil Epist. ad Episcop. per Italiam et Galliam. And Eusebius de Vita Constant.

† The Defence of the Apologie, p. 577, where Bishop Jewell cites a similar passage respecting Constantinople, ἡ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἐκκλησία ἡ Μητήρ πάντων τῶν ὀρθοδόξων, καὶ διδάσκαλος. Cod. de Sacrosan. Ecclesiis.

Consult also the Tripartite Work annexed to the second Volume of Councils, book ii, chap. 1,

versal Bishop and Supreme Head of the whole Church, the King of Pride, a Heretic, and an Enemy to all his Episcopal Brethren.

Since then it is evident, and indeed will not admit of denial, that our adversaries have forsaken the Doctrine and Discipline of those from whom they received their Gospel, their Creed, their Religion, their Church; what reason, what cause can be alleged, why they should not return to them, as to the source of their existence? Why do they dread the examples of the Apostles and Fathers, as if they had been void of understanding? Are these men more intelligent, or more careful of the interests of the Church than those from whom they derived all their knowledge? For our parts we have left that Church in which we were neither able to hear the pure Doctrine of God's Word, to have the Sacraments properly administered, nor to call upon the name of the Lord in a becoming manner: a Church, according to their own acknowledgments, abounding with errors; to which no prudent man, who regarded his eternal welfare, could be induced to belong. In a word, we have retired from a Church which differs widely from its original constitution, in

the same manner as * Daniel escaped from the Den of Lions; as the three young men did out of the Fiery Furnace; † or to speak perhaps more properly, we have been driven from their community with curses and execrations.

We have besides connected ourselves with that Church in which, even they must confess, if they adhere conscientiously to Truth, that all things are regulated with the greatest propriety and decorum; and as far as possible, in accordance with the precepts and example of the Primitive Ages. For let them institute a comparison between our respective Churches, and they will not fail to perceive how widely they differ from the Apostles, and therefore with how much justice we differ from them. For we, with Christ, the Apostles, and the Holy Fathers, administer the Sacrament *entire* to the People: they on the contrary, in direct opposition to the Fathers, the Apostles, and Christ himself, with the greatest Sacrilege, as their own Gelasius affirms, *divide* the Communion, and deprive the People of one of the Elements. ‡

* Daniel vi. 22.

† Daniel iii. 26.

‡ In the early part of the Apology this subject has been fully

We have again restored the Lord's Supper to its ancient form as instituted by Christ, and endeavoured as far as possible to render it open and common to all men, that it might be in reality, as well as in name the * COMMUNION. They

discussed, the matter has indeed been handled by Bishop Jewell in the most able manner, not only in this work and the Defence, but also in his other writings. "It behoves us to know," says this pious and excellent Prelate, "that Christe the Sonne of God, appointed the Sacrament of his Body to be geven in Breade, and the Sacrament of his Blood to be geven in Wine. These be the Holy Mysteries of Christ's Body and Blood. Wee may not here accompte what may be in either of them by the drifte of vaine fantasie; but rather we ought to consider what Christe in the first institution hereof did, and what he commanded to be doone; and wee wishe and pray to God, that his whole Churche may once be reformed after the example and institution of Christe; without whom the Churche is no Churche; neither hath any right, or claime without his promise: nor any promise without his woorde."

The Replie unto M. Hardinge's Answere, p. 99. Ed. Lond. 1565.

* We teach in our Catechism, which is early put into the hands of all Protestant Children, "that the BODY and BLOOD of CHRIST are verily and indeed taken and received by the FAITHFUL in the LORD'S SUPPER." In the xxviiith Article we profess, "that to them who worthily receive the LORD'S SUPPER, the Bread which we break is the COMMUNION of the BODY of CHRIST, and likewise the CUP of blessing, is the partaking of the BLOOD of CHRIST." In the Prayer before Consecration, we beseech God that we may so eat *the Flesh of Christ, and*

against the positive command of Christ have converted this Holy COMMUNION into a Private Mass. We therefore give the Lord's Supper to the People, whilst they entertain them with an Idle Show.

We affirm with the most ancient Fathers that the Body of Christ is eaten by none but Pious and Holy men, who are endued with the Spirit of Christ: they teach their followers that the very Body of Christ absolutely, or as they express it, really and substantially can be devoured not only by impious and wicked Infidels, but also, which is a most abominable and execrable doctrine, by Mice and Dogs.

We offer up our prayers in the Church in such a manner that, as St. Paul* exhorteth us, the people may understand the nature of their supplication, and conclude their devotions with a

drink his Blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by HIS BODY, and our Souls cleansed through HIS most precious BLOOD, and in our exhortation we earnestly beseech the Congregation by the most persuasive arguments, the hopes of Salvation, and Eternal Happiness, to be partakers of this Holy Rite.

* 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

fervent Amen: they, like sounding brass or a tinkling Cymbal, in their places of Worship pour forth Prayers in an unknown foreign language, without understanding, sense, or feeling: their sole object being to deprive the people of all knowledge.

And not to enumerate all the existing differences, (for they are nearly infinite,) we have translated the *Sacred Volume into *all* Languages; they scarcely suffer it to exist in *one*:

* To those Papists who consider the Scriptures too difficult for the comprehension of the lower orders, I would apply the words of St. Augustin to the Heretic Julian, Exaggeras quam sit difficilis, paucisque conveniens eruditis Sanctarum cognitio Literarum.* You are guilty of falsehood when you assert that the Scriptures are difficult to be understood, and adapted to the capacity of the learned only. St. Chrysostom† declares that the Husbandman, the Widow, the young and simple, may easily comprehend the doctrines of the Bible. St. Augustin‡ uniformly speaks of the style of Writing, and simplicity of Expression in the Sacred Volume, as the language of a familiar friend, which speaks to the heart of the unlearned as well as the learned; and lastly, St. Cyril§ extols the simplicity and familiarity of Speech of the Scriptures, and declares them to be within the reach of any man's capacity.

* Augustin Contra Julian, lib. v. cap. i.

† Chrysostom in Matt. Hom. i.

‡ Augustin, Epist. iii.

§ Cyrillus Contra Julian. lib. vii.

* We invite the people to read and hear the word; they drive them away: We are desirous that every person should comprehend the cause of our Controversy; they shrink from all inquiry: We rely upon the power of Knowledge; they of Ignorance: We trust to Light; they to Darkness: We venerate, as we ought, the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets; they burn them: In a word, we in the cause of God are willing to

* Bishop Jewell in his reply to Harding, says, “Wee teache not the people to presume of Knowledge, as you teache them to presume of Ignorance: But onely wee exhorte them for the better satisfaction of their consciences, to reade the Scriptures, and therein to learne the good wil of God. And notwithstandinge yee may not allowe them to be judges, that is to saie, to discerne betweene the Light of God and your Darknesse, yet yee might suffer them to pike up somme smal crommes, that fal from the Lord’s Table.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 589.

Socrates, one of the Ancient Fathers of the Church, maintains as an undoubted fact, that simple unlearned persons in cases of Truth often decide more justly and uprightly than the most profound Philosophers.

Apolog. Socratis.

Let us also consider the words of our Saviour himself. “I thank thee, oh Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes. Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight.”

Matthew xi. 25, 26.

stand or fall by God's Judgment; they allow no judge in their cause but themselves.

Notwithstanding all this, we feel convinced that, if they would give the subject due consideration and weigh the matter dispassionately, they would not only approve our determination in leaving their errors, and following Christ and his Apostles; but would themselves also, as it were, depart from themselves, and voluntarily unite themselves with our Church.

CHAP. VI.

THE HIGH ESTIMATION IN WHICH THE GENERAL COUNCILS AND DECREES OF THE PRIMITIVE CHURCH ARE HELD BY PROTESTANTS, CONTRASTED WITH THE TOTAL INDIFFERENCE WHICH THE PAPISTS SHEW, NOT ONLY TO THEM, BUT EVEN TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THE Papists consider it a crime of the deepest dye to attempt any improvement without the sanction of a general Council: because in that reposes all Ecclesiastical Authority; and Christ himself hath promised that there he will always be present. Without however waiting the authority of any such Sacred Council, they, as I have before remarked, have not scrupled to violate the Commandments of God, the Decrees of the Apostles, and almost all the Institutions and Doctrines of the Primitive Church.

Again, with respect to their assertion that it is unlawful to effect any Change in the Church

unless first proposed and ratified in a Council: who, allow us to ask, imposed these Laws upon us? Or whence do they derive this authority?

That *Monarch acted very ridiculously, who, when he was informed by an Oracle of the Will and determination of Jupiter, the Chief Deity of the Heathens, afterwards referred the entire matter to Apollo; being anxious to discover whether the opinion of the latter agreed with that of his Father: but we should justly be charged with still greater folly, if, when we hear God himself openly addressing us in the Holy Scriptures, and are well acquainted with his will and pleasure, we should afterwards (paying no regard whatever to him) be desirous of referring the whole subject to the *wisdom* of a Council:†

* Agesilaus.

† Tertullian thus upbraideth the Heathens: "Apud vos de Humano arbitrato Divinitas pensatur." With you the Divine power of God is weighed by the Judgment of men.

Tertull. in Apologetico.

Clemens Alexandrinus says, "Quoniam ipsum verbum ad nos venit de coelo, non est nobis amplius eundum ad Humanam Doctrinam." Since the Word itself (that is Christ) has come to us from Heaven, we must no more have recourse to the Doctrine of Man.

Clemens. Alex. In oratione ad Gentes.

In like manner St. Chrysostom, "Fuisset extremæ absurdi-

which in effect is nothing more than asking, whether Man entertains the same sentiments as God, and *condescends* to approve and enforce by *his authority* the Decrees of the ALMIGHTY. For what! Shall Truth be no longer Truth; God no longer God; unless the Council please to command and sanction it?

If our Saviour from the beginning had pursued such a system, and neither taught nor uttered a word without the consent of the Chief Priests, and referred all his Doctrine to Annas and Caiaphas; what would have been the fate of the Christian Religion? Or who would

tatis, eum, qui edoctus fuerat a Deo, postea cum hominibus communicare." It would have been great folly in St. Paul, who received his Doctrine from God himself, to have conferred thereupon with men, that is, St. Peter, St. James, or any others.

Chrysost. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i.

And he afterwards adds, "Paulus nihil opus habebat Petro; nec illius egebat voce, sed honore par erat illi;" Paul had no need of Peter; nor wanted his voice; for in worth and honour he was his equal: and St. Jerome declares that "Perrexit Hierusalem, non tam ut disceret aliquid ex Apostolis, quàm cum iis Evangelium quod docuerat, collaturus;" Paul went up to Jerusalem, not so much to acquire any thing of the Apostles, as to confer with them concerning the Gospel that he had preached.

Hieronym. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. i.

ever even have heard of the Gospel? St. Peter (whom the Pope mentions more frequently, and with greater reverence than he does Jesus Christ himself) confidently opposed the Sacred Council; declaring that* it was better to obey God than Man. And St. Paul,† when he had once thoroughly embraced the Gospel, having *received it neither from man nor by man*, but solely through the will of God, *conferred not with flesh and blood*, nor related it to his Kinsfolk and Brethren, but straightway *went into Arabia*, there to preach the Divine Mysteries which he had been taught of God himself.

‡ We are far from treating with contempt and disrespect the General Councils, or the Assemblies and Deliberations of Bishops and other learned Divines; nor indeed have any of our acts been unsanctioned by the Authority of

* Acts v. 29.

† Galatians i. 12. 16, 17.

‡ This entire Paragraph is ably defended by the learned Prelate in his admirable Defence, where a full explanation is given of the source and origin of the authority of Bishops in the Reformed Church; and an enumeration of the various Parliaments under whose sanction the Ecclesiastical Establishments of this Country were founded.

The Defence of the Apologie, pp. 595-8.

Bishops and Councils. The subject was debated in open Parliament, in full Convocation, and underwent a long and painful investigation. But it is not difficult to conjecture what treatment we may hope and expect from that Council * which Pope Pius IV. now pretends to convene, wherein men are condemned unheard, uncalled, unseen. †

Nazienzen in his time, when he saw men at these assemblies so obstinate and blinded by

* In the olde Popishe Latine Translation of the Bible, there be sundrie erroures, so open, and so grosse, that a very Babe may espie them: as it maie more plainely appeare by BUDÆUS, ERASMUS, VALLA, FABER, LINDANUS, and others. Yet notwithstandinge their late * Councel, saithe precisely thus, Ne quis veterem Vulgatam Editionem, rejicere quovis prætextu audeat, vel præsumat: Let no man dare or presume in any manner to reject the old Vulgate translation of the Bible; As if these Councelles were pourposely summoned to mainteine errors. If they wil so deceive us in sensible maters, how maie wee then truste them in maters of Faithe?

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 598.

* The Council of Trent.

† In the fourth year of Pius IV. A. D. 1563, in the sixth year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, an end was put to the Council of Trent, to which we have so often alluded in this Apology.

their passions as to contend for superiority, not Truth; with much force and justice observed, that he never knew any of these Councils terminate successfully.* What would he say were he now alive, and could see the conflict in which these men are engaged? For although at that period Factions and Parties certainly existed; still Causes were heard, and all united their influence to eradicate any flagrant Errors. But the modern Papists will neither allow their cause to be freely discussed, nor suffer the slightest change in *even one* of the many erroneous opinions which they entertain: for they are frequently wont with the most unblushing effrontery to boast that their Church cannot err; that the slightest error cannot be discovered in it; that no concessions whatever are to be made to us; or that if any, such must be granted entirely at the discretion of the Bishops and Abbots:

* Equidem ut vere, quod res est, scribam, prorsus decrevi fugere omnem conventum Episcoporum; nullius enim Concilii bonum exitum unquam vidi; Concilia enim non minuunt mala, sed augent potius: To confess the Truth I am fully resolved never again to attend any assemblage of Bishops, for I never yet saw one of them terminate successfully; for Councils far from diminishing, tend rather to increase Evils.

Gregorius Nazianzen, ad Procopium.

they being the sole moderators of all things; the only apparent Church of God. Aristotle declares that a Civil Society or Government cannot be entirely composed of Bastards: they themselves then may decide whether they are qualified to constitute the Church of God: for their Abbots are certainly not Legitimate, nor their Bishops, Genuine.

But let them be the Church; let them be heard in Councils; let them alone possess the right of giving their votes: still however in former times, when the Church of God in comparison with theirs enjoyed the best possible constitution, we are given to understand by St. Cyprian, that both Priests and Deacons, and indeed some portion of the Laity, were summoned to the trial of Ecclesiastical Causes. And what if these Abbots and Bishops are utterly destitute of Knowledge?* What if they are ignorant of the nature of Religion, and know not

* "Many of their Priestes can neither speake Latine, nor Reade Englishe, nor understande the Articles of their Faithe, nor any Portion of the Scriptures."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 601.

what to believe of God? What if the Law hath perished from the Priests, and Counsel from the Elders? What if, as saith the Prophet Micah;* *it shall be night unto them, that they shall not have a vision, and dark unto them, that they shall not divine?* What if, as saith Isaiah? † *the Watchmen of the City are all blind, all ignorant?* What if ‡ *the salt have lost its savour?* and as Christ saith, *become good for nothing, but to be cast upon the dung-hill, and trodden under foot of men?*

But they refer every thing to the Pope, who cannot err. In the first place, it argues gross folly and ignorance to transmit the Holy Ghost from the sacred Council to Rome by a Courier,§ in order

* Micah iii. 6.

† Isaiah lvi. 10.

‡ Matthew v. 13.

Luke xiv. 35.

Mark ix. 50.

§ It was a common Proverb in the time of the Council of Trent, that the Holy Ghost was sent from Rome to the Council in a Cloak-Bag, which was spoken in derision of the Councils depending too much upon the directions sent them very frequently from thence by Carriers, as Father Paul acquaints us in his History of that Council; and to this Proverb our author in this place alludes: The same Proverb is mentioned by the Bishop of Quinque Ecclesiæ, in a letter printed at the end of the Council of Trent, in English.

Editor's Note to the Translation of 1685.

that he may* consult *some more learned Spirit* in any doubts and difficulties which he may be unable to solve. For if their consultations are always to terminate in this manner, what advantage can arise from the present assembly at Trent: to join which so many Bishops have undertaken such long and expensive journies? It would have undoubtedly been more prudent, at all events a shorter and readier method, to

* Hardinge in his Replie is very indignant with what he is pleased to term the Bishop's Jestings with God's Holy Spirit. Let us however listen to Jewell's Defence; "Wee jeste not at Goddes Holy Sprite; We know it is the same Sprite of Wisdome that hath renewed the face of the worlde, and discovered the multitude of youre follies. But wel maie wee jeste at your unhandsome, and open legierdumaine, that so vainely seeke to blinde us with a painted shadowe of the Sprite of God: Ye pretende longe Praiers, mutche fastinge, great conference of Doctours, and Scriptures, and the undoubted presence and assistance of Goddes Holy Sprite in al your dooinges; and yet openly strive against the manifest woorde, and Sprite of God, and folowe onely your owne Sprite, whiche we maie truely calle the Sprite of Vanitie. The Sprite, that you mean, is nothing els than the Sprite of Rome, whiche you saie, is the Sprite of Truthe, and cannot erre. In one of your late Councelles, holden at Rome, as yee were singinge, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, God sente downe an Owle,* from the toppe of the Church, to sitte emongest you; that ye might knowe in what Sprite yee were assembled. *The Defence of the Apologie, p. 606.*

* Nicolaus de Clavengiis.

have referred all these things in the first instance to the decision of the Pope, and have made direct application to the Oracle of *his Sacred Breast*. In the next place, it is unjust to appeal from the Decision of so many Bishops and Abbots to the judgment of one man; and he too accused by us of the most flagrant crimes, to which he at present has offered no defence; although he has not hesitated to condemn us without even the external forms of a trial. Are these, we would now ask, the mere inventions of our own brain? Or do the Councils now pursue a different line of conduct? Or are not all things referred to the sole judgment of the Pope by these sacred assemblies? As if the decision and consent of so many learned divines were of no authority, and he alone could add, diminish, change, approve, abrogate, qualify, or even disannul according to his Sovereign Will? And who, allow me to add, hazarded these assertions? Why did the Bishops and Abbots at the termination of the late Council of Trent insert these words as part of their Decree; * *acknowledging in all things the paramount Authority of the*

* De Electione et Elect, potestate, cap. Significasti.

Apostolic See? Or why did Pope Paschal allude to his own usurped power in these arrogant terms: "As if any Councils could prescribe a law to the Church of Rome; when all Councils are convened and sanctioned by *her* sole ordinance, and in their Decrees the authority of the Pope is openly* allowed and excepted." If the Papists will sanction and approve such proceedings, why do they convene Councils? But if on the other hand they have been repealed, why are they still allowed to remain on record in their Books, as if they were still in full force.

Suppose however that the Pope alone *is above* all Councils; that is, that a part is greater than the whole; that he is more powerful, more wise than all his party united; and that contrary to the opinion of St. Jerome, † the authority of one City is greater than that of the whole world. What, if notwithstanding all this, he is perfectly ignorant of all matters connected with the interests of Christianity; and has never read either the Holy Scriptures, the Ancient Fathers, nor even the Ordinances of his own Councils?

* *Patenter*, some however read *patienter*, patiently.

† Hieron. ad Evagrium.

What if he shall follow the example of that ancient Pope Liberius,* and apostatize to Arianism? What if he shall entertain the same impious and accursed sentiments concerning a future state, and the immortality of the Soul, which Pope John† lately professed; or shall corrupt and mutilate other Councils for the sake of enlarging his dominion and power, in the same manner as Pope Zosimus‡ did that of Nice; and affirm that certain decrees, which

* Hieron de Ecclesiæ Scriptoribus. Alphons. contra Hæres. lib. i. cap. 4. Platyna in Vita Liberii; consult also Historia Longobardica, Herman Gigas, and Erasmus in Annotat. in Hieron. contra Lucifer. &c.

† Gerson in Sermone Paschali. Copus dialog. i. p. 50, 51.

‡ But touchinge the forgerie of this Council of Nice, the very beginninge of the quarrel, and the whole storie standeth thus. One Apiarius a Priest of the Church of Sicca in Aphrica, as it appeareth, a very ill man, beinge justly excommunicate, bothe by his owne Bishop, and also by a great number of other Bishoppes togeather in the Council there, appealed from them al unto Zosimus then Bishop of Rome. Zosimus without further knowledge of the cause, never hearinge the other Partie, pronounced Apiarius to be innocent, and restored him to the communion; and understandinge there was a Council geathered in Aphrica touchinge the same, sent thither Faustinus the Bishop of Potentia, with two other Priestes of Rome, Philippus and Asellus, not onely to see, that the saide Apiarius without any further trial might be restoared unto his right, but also to make plea in the open Council, that it should be lawful for

were never even thought of, not only met the approbation, but even experienced the cordial support of the Holy Fathers: and shall, as Camotensis affirms the Popes frequently do, offer violence to the Scriptures, that their Authority may experience no Controul? What if he renounce the Christian Religion, and become an apostate; which, Lyranus informs us, many Popes have done? Notwithstanding all these things, will the Holy Ghost still find an entrance

any prieste to appeale from his owne ordinarie, or Metropolitane, or Councel, unto the Apostolique See of Rome. The Bishoppes of Aphrica answeared, there was no law it shoulde be so. Faustinus laid forthe this Canon* of the Councel of Nice, not made by the authoritie of the Bishops there, but onely divided by the Bishop of Rome. The Bishops there, among whom was that famous learned Father St. Augustine, thought it was a forged mater, and therefore saide, they woulde sende unto Alexandria, Antioche, and Constantinople, for the very Original Copies of the saide Councel, and desired the Bishop of Rome to do the same: and saide that in the meane while they woulde doo as they had done before. Upon this Message and returne of the Answeare, with the true authentique Copies from Cyrillus the Bishop of Alexandria, and Atticus the Bishop of Constantinople, it appeared plainely unto the worlde, that the Canons were corrupted, and that the Pope had falsified the Holy Councel; and to the intent to aduance his Apostolique See of Rome, had devised Privileges and Prerogatives of his owne. *Replie unto Mr. Hardinge's Answeare*, p.p. 235. 41.

* Concil. Carthag. vi. cap. 3. Concil. Aphri. Canones, cap. cii. cv.

into his heart, and so far enlighten his understanding, even against his will, that he cannot possibly commit an error? Shall he alone be the fountain of all Justice; and shall all the treasures of wisdom and understanding repose in his breast, as in a Treasury? Or, if he has not possession of these gifts, can he decide properly on matters of such vast importance? And if he has not the abilities of a Judge, can he desire all matters to be referred to his decision?

What if the Pope's Advocates, the Abbots and Bishops, do not disguise their views, but openly profess themselves Enemies of the Gospel; and will not see what they do see, but wrest the meaning of the Holy Scriptures, and corrupt and deprave the Word of God; and impiously and wickedly attribute to the person of the Pope, that which clearly and evidently applies to Christ alone; and indeed could be spoken of no other person? What if they say that the * *Pope is all, and above all*; or that he possesses the same divine attributes as Christ himself; or that the

* Hostiensis, cap. Quanto. Abbas Panormitan. de elect. cap. Venerabilis.

Tribunal and Consistory of the Pope is of equal authority with Christ's? Or that *he is that Light which should come into the world, (which Christ spake of himself only) and that he that doeth evil hateth that light and fleeth from it?† Or that all other Bishops have received of his Fulness?‡ Lastly, what if they do not hesitate boldly and openly without the least subterfuge to decide against the express Word of God? Shall whatever they affirm immediately rival the authority of the Gospel? Shall these men constitute the army of God? Shall our Saviour Jesus countenance their proceedings? Will the Spirit of God move upon their tongues? Or can they

* John viii. 12. xii. 46.

† Quis erit tam injustus rerum æstimator, qui non dicat. Papa Lux venit in Mundum : sed dilexerunt homines Tenebras magis quam lucem, omnis qui male agit, odit Lucem ; et non venit ad Lucem ; ut non arguantur opera ejus, quia mala sunt? Can any one come to so unjust a decision as to deny, that the Pope is the light which is come unto the world? But men have loved darkness rather than light ; Whosoever doeth Evil, hateth the Light, and cometh not unto it lest his works should be discovered that they are evil.

Concil. Tridentin. sub Paulo iii. Oratio Cornelii Episcopi. Bitontini.

‡ Cornelius Episcopus in Concilio. Tridentino. Durandus.

truly say; *It seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to Us?* *

† Peter à Soto indeed, and his advocate Hosius, do not scruple to affirm, that even that Council which condemned Christ to death possessed the Spirit of Prophecy and Truth, and that the Holy Ghost presided at it; ‡ and that what the Chief Priests then declared, was no false or idle asser-

* Acts xv. 28.

† Both Peter à Soto and Hosius affirm, that whatsoever is decreed in Council must be considered as the undoubted Word and Judgment of God. To whom the learned Johannes Brentius replied, Councils sometimes have committed errors, and been utterly destitute of the Spirit of God; which evidently appears from that Council which condemned the Son of God to die the Death. * Hosius answers, When Annas and Caiaphas sat as Presidents in the Council, and condemned the Son of God to death, still they had the Assistance of the Holy Ghost and the undoubted Spirit of Truth. He then proceeds to declare that from the moment our first Father tasted of the Forbidden Fruit, Christ the Son of God became guilty of Death, and the Popish Commentator on this Passage pronounces that "the Jews would have been guilty of mortal sin had they not nailed our Saviour to the Cross."

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 621.

* Hosius Contra Brentium, p. 62. b. 63. a Dist. 13. Item in Margine. See also his Confessio. Petricovien. cap. xxix.

‡ Hosius contra Brentium, lib. ii.

tion; * *We have a Law, and by that Law he ought to die*: and according to Hosius, the Jews decided with great propriety, and acted agreeably to the dictates of strict Justice, when they condemned our Saviour to the Cross. It excites our no small astonishment to find that these men cannot defend themselves, and advocate their own cause without at the same time patronising Annas and Caiaphas. For how can we expect that those persons who pronounce the very Council which condemned our Saviour to an ignominious Death legitimate and just; how, I repeat it, can we expect that they will ever discover any errors or vices in their own Decrees? Still however considering the nature of almost all their Councils, it was impossible for them to pronounce any other decision upon Annas and Caiaphas. But can we believe that those men who are at once both Judges and Criminals will effect any Reformation in the Church? Will they put any restraint upon their Pride and Ambition? Will they abandon their own cause, and pass sentence upon themselves; decreeing that their Bishops should not be ignorant, uneducated, or

* John xix. 7.

Gluttons; that Pluralities shall not be allowed; that they shall not assume the State of Monarchs, nor engage in Military Affairs? Will the Abbots, those beloved Children of Popery, pronounce that *Monk a thief who does not labour truly to get his own living? and that it is unlawful for such a person to reside either in the City or even in the Society of Men at the expense of

* It would be well for the Monks and Friars of the present day to attend to the description given of their predecessors by St. Jerome, *Nihil arrogant sibi de continentia supercilii. Humilitatis inter omnes contentio est; Quicumque novissimus fuerit hic primus putatur: In veste nulla discretio: nulla admiratio, ut cunque placuerit incedere, nec detractio, nec laudis. Jejunia neminem sublevant; nec defertur inedia; nec moderata saturitas condemnatur. Suo Domino stat unus quisque, aut cedit, nemo judicat alterum, ne a Domino judicetur.* They boast not of their single state and continency; all their contention is who shall be most humble; whosoever may be last is accounted first: there is no distinction, no splendour in their apparel: in whatsoever manner a person choosed to walk, he is neither extolled nor slandered for it; no man is promoted for fasting; neither is abstinence praised, or moderate refreshment condemned; each man stands or falls by his Lord; no man judges another, lest he himself should be judged of the Lord.

Hieron. ad Marcell. ut commigret Bethlehem.

For farther remarks on this subject consult the Defence of the Apologie, p. p. 620. 25. Sulpitius Severus in *Chronico*. Hieron. ad Eustochium de *Virginitate servanda*. Irenæus lib. i. cap. 1. and St. Augustin. De *moribus Manichæorum*, lib. ii. cap. 19, 20.

others? That a Monk ought to lie upon the bare earth; to feed himself with herbs and pulse; to study diligently, pray earnestly, argue and exert himself in every way to become an able Minister of the Church? We might as well anticipate that the Scribes and Pharisees will reform the Temple of God, and restore it unto us a *House of Prayer*, instead of a Den of Thieves.

There have been some of their own persuasion who detected very many errors into which their church had fallen. For instance, Pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, Cardinal Pole, Pighius, and others whom we have already mentioned. They afterwards held a Council at Trent; the self same place where it is now appointed. Many Bishops, Abbots, and others, who from their station in the Church were required to attend, assembled on this occasion. They were alone: in all their proceedings there was no one to oppose them; for they excluded those who had embraced our opinions from every possibility of conference.*

* Whether the learned menne of oure side were shutte out from the right and libertie of the Popish Councel, or no, it maie soone appeare, partly by that is already saide, partly by

Their Session, by which the highest expectations had been raised, lasted six years. During the first six months their decisions (as if such subjects had been of the most vital importance) related only to the Doctrines of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit: which intrinsically are worthy our commendation, but were not in the least called for by the exigency of the times.* But during this period, of all those numerous † errors, which the most

that shal be saide hereafter. Verily the Pope for his *Premunire, wil not suffer any Bishop to geeve voice in Councel, onlesse he have him firste solemnely sworne to the See of Rome; and therefore they be all called his creatures. So Cicero† saith, Verres, when he hadde bribed and spoiled the whole Ilelande of Sicilia, thought it not good to suffer his name or any parte of his dooinges to comme in hazarde, but only before a Judge, or Arbiter of his owne.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 626.

* Part i. divis. 19, and part vi. cap. 8, divis. 1.

† Cicero, Oratio in Verrem.

* Martinus Remnitius* says, They held debates and frequent consultations there for the space of seven long months, about Justification by Faith and Works; and yet in the end left the subject involved in greater obscurity than they found it.

† Picus Mirandola besought Leo. X. to abate the vain multitude of idle ceremonies; to reform the Prayers; and abolish

* Martin. Remnit, in Examen. Concil. Trident. p. 638.

negligent observer cannot fail to discover, and which are so generally admitted, does there exist a single instance of amendment or correction? From what species of idolatry have they reclaimed the infatuated people? What superstitious practice have they renounced? Point out the instance where they have done any thing to restrain the tyrannical powers, or diminish the wealth and grandeur of the Priesthood?

And thus they think to impose upon the world; as if men were so blind as not to perceive that such an Assembly is rather a band of Conspirators, than the Fathers of a Council. As if the world did not see, that those Bishops, whom the Pope has now called together for his own purposes, were altogether sworn and addicted to his interest alone: and would never attempt any thing inimical to his wishes and designs, but promote the extension of his authority, and the forwarding of his plans by every means in their power. As if it were im-

the system of reciting Legendary tales of Saints and fabled Martyrs. *Picus Miran. ad Leonem X. In Concil. Later.*

possible to discover that in such a Council the votes are rather collected than scrutinized; that judgment and integrity are often overborne by clamour, and compelled to yield to numbers. Induced by these considerations we know that many good men and Catholic Bishops, when Councils were summoned, (which they plainly saw would only be subservient to the ends of faction and party, and therefore that their attendance would be a mere loss of time; inasmuch as the determination of their opponents was already fixed, so that no good object could be promoted by the conference,) declined the unnecessary trouble, and remained at home,

Thus Athanasius,* when summoned by the Emperor to the Council of Cesarea, seeing the bitter rancour of the enemies he should have to encounter, refused his attendance. When also on another occasion he had come to the Council of Syrmium, and by his own experience readily foresaw what might be expected from the fierceness and bitterness of his enemies; he immediately made preparations for his departure, and

* Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 28,

left the Council. St. Chrysostom* also, notwithstanding he had been summoned four several times to a Council of Arians, by letters of the Emperor Arcadius, still refused to obey the order. And when Maximus, a Bishop of Jerusalem, was sitting in the Council in Palestine, the aged Paphnutius took him by the hand, and led him out, exclaiming; "It is not lawful for us to consult on such subjects as these with wicked men."† The Bishops of the West refused to attend the Council of Syrmium, from which Athanasius withdrew himself: and Cyril appealed by letter from a Council of those who were called Patropassians. Paulinus, Bishop of Treves, and many others, refused to attend the ‡ Council of Milan when they perceived how subservient it was to the intrigues and influence of Auxentius: judging it to be worse than useless to assist in an Assembly which would be swayed by faction, not by reason; whose debates would be carried on and decided not by the judgment, but the passions of its members.

* Tripartit. lib. x. cap. 13.

† Eusebius, lib. v. cap. 17.

‡ Sozomen, lib. v. cap. 15.

All these however, though they had to contend with bitter and obstinate opponents, yet if they had been present, would at least have enjoyed the liberty of free discussion. But now, when the Papal Emissaries, the Patriarchs, Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, men who have all conspired together against the rights of conscience; men united by the common ties of common crimes; men sworn to the same cause by the same oath; when these alone have a seat, and the right of suffrage in Council; and have moreover, (as if their very proceedings must emanate from some authority which was perfectly independent of themselves,) subjected all their decisions to the mere caprice and will of the Pope alone; none of us can sit or even appear in the debates, so that all free discussion is entirely precluded. Now where is the man that does impugn with the least plausibility of reason the Defenders of the Protestant Cause? For what is this base subjection to the Pope, but to make *him* Judge in his own cause, *who* should rather plead at the bar as a Criminal?

In such Councils, is not that ancient and

Christian liberty of discussion which it was of the last importance to preserve inviolate in all Assemblies of the Church, entirely negatived? And who then that has any pretensions to virtue or common sense, can blame us for imitating the conduct of so many Fathers and Catholic Bishops under similar circumstances? We cannot obtain a fair audience in a Council; the Ambassadors of our Princes are treated with contempt; and we are all, as if the cause were already tried and decided, condemned without a hearing. Hence we have judged it more becoming to remain at home, and commit the whole affair to God, than to intrude ourselves where we know we shall not be admitted, nor possess the least influence.

And although we might patiently and quietly submit to this injury; yet why should they offer the same insult to Christian Kings, and Religious Princes, by excluding them from their sittings? Why do they so unceremoniously, and with such contempt drive them from their debates; as if they were unworthy even the name of Christians, or incapable of deciding on matters of Religion? Why are they unwilling

that our Princes should hear the business of Religion discussed, and know the state of their own Churches? Or if they exert their authority, and only do what the Laws of men, the Commands of God, and their own Duty alike justify them in doing, after the examples of David, Solomon, and other good Princes; which is to restrain the wickedness of the Priesthood, and compel them to a due performance of their functions, and a constant attendance on them, whenever these dignitaries of the Church are either impiously resisting any reformation, or totally inattentive to it;* if they reform

* Notwithstanding the clamour raised by the Papists against the Interference of Temporal Princes in Spiritual affairs, it appears that the Popes themselves notwithstanding all their universal Power, have in many instances submitted themselves, and made their *purgations* before Kings and Emperors. Pope Liberius* made his humble appearance before the Emperor Constantius: Pope Sixtus† was accused and made his purgation before the Emperor Valentinian: Pope Leo. III. ‡ being accused by Paschalis, and Campulus, pleaded his cause before Charles the Great, (who was not then chosen Emperor) at Rome: Pope John XXII. was accused of Heresy, and forced to make a public Recantation before Philip King of France.

* Theodoret. lib. ii. cap. 16.

† 2 Quæst. iv. Mandastis. eodem. Auditum.

‡ Gerson in Sermone Paschali. The Defence of the Apologie, p. 636-9. Franciscus Zarabella de Schismate.

idolatry, correct superstitious practices, restore the worship of God to its Primitive Purity; why, allow me to ask, do they instantly raise an unjust Clamour against them; asserting that these Princes create the greatest confusion and disturbance in the Church; usurp the Offices of others, and are guilty of wicked and abandoned conduct? In what part of Holy Writ are Christian Princes excluded from taking cognizance of these causes? Who, but the Papists, ever decreed such Laws?*

Probably however they may assert that Civil Princes are taught to govern Kingdoms and wage wars, but do not understand the Mysteries of Religion. What, I pray then, is the Pope at this time but a Monarch or Prince? What are the Cardinals? to which dignity none but the

* Christe himselfe by certaine ancient Popish Writers was called a Samaritane, a Deceiver of the People, and an Heretique. And if wee soberly, and advisedly consider the matter, we shall finde throughout the whole body of the Scriptures, that no people made ever so great crakes of the Church, as theie that were the deadly Enimies of the Church; nor none were so ready to condemne others of Heresie, as theie, that indeede were themselves the greatest Heretiques.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 631.

offspring of Monarchs and Princes can now aspire? What the Patriarchs, and the majority of the Archbishops? What the Bishops and Abbots of the Papal Dominion, but Civil Princes, Dukes, and Earls? Whithersoever they go, a great Retinue attends them: they are adorned with Chains, and Collars of Gold; and all the Parade of State, and Military Authority.*

They affect likewise a certain peculiar costume, and ornaments appropriate to their office and dignity; as Crosses, Pillars, Hats, Tiaras, and Palls: which vain Pomp the Ancient Bishops Chrysostom, Augustin, and Ambrose never assumed. But independent of these, do they either teach or act, do they either preach or live, I will not say as becomes a Bishop, but a Christian?

* Pope Boniface VIII. whom we have had occasion to mention, at a great Jubilee, and in a Solemn Procession was apparelled in the Emperor's Robes, and wore the Crown Imperial on his Head, and had the Sword of Majesty borne before him as an Emperor.

Paralipomena Urspergen.

Bernard in Cantica Sermo. xxxiii. et lxxvii. Idem de consideratione ad Eugenium, lib. i. iii. and St. Augustin Contra Donatist. lib. vi. give full particulars of the Parade and Pomp assumed by the Priesthood in their days.

Or does the Episcopal Character rest on a mere empty Title, and a change of Garments?

It is undoubtedly both unjust, dishonourable, and disgraceful, and not to be endured by well-informed Christian Princes, to entrust the chief support of all things to the management of those persons alone who neither know, nor wish to know, nor indeed consider Religion of the least value; (except as far as regards their own vitiated appetites, and the gratification of their lusts;) and thus constitute them sole judges who are in fact no better than blind men placed in a Watch-tower. Such however is the design of the *Pope; who wishes to see a Christian and Catholic Monarch stand like a Stock or Stone without a Vote; without the power of giving an opinion: who desires him to pay implicit obedience to his

* By what Woorde of God, says Bishop Jewell, can the Pope claime himself to be the Heade of the Universal Church of God? Where is it recorded? Where is it written? In what parte of the Testamente newe, or olde? In what Lawe? In what Prophete? In what Epistle? In what Gospel? Where is his Headship? Where is his Universal Power? If the Papists can finde it, then maie they shewe it; if it cannot be founde, then shoulde they not saie it.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 648.

commands and wishes; as if he were destitute of Eyes, Ears, Soul, and Understanding: who ordains that whatever the See of Rome is pleased to sanction, must be received without demur, and with Blindfold Submission, however wicked and blasphemous it may be: even should the Extinction of all Religion and the Crucifixion of our Saviour be comprehended in its decrees.

What then? Can Annas and Caiaphas form a more correct judgment on matters of Religion, than David and Hezekiah? And is it lawful for a Cardinal, a Soldier and a Man of Blood to sit in that Council wherein an Emperor and a Christian Monarch is refused admittance? For we have no intention of attributing any thing more to our Magistrates, than that which we know is allowed them by the Word of God, and approved by the most perfect Models of Government.* The care of both Tables is besides com-

* Touchinge the Right belonging unto all Christian Princes, it hath benne invested, and planted in them from the beginning; for to leave the authorities of the Scriptures, Pope Eleutherius himselfe wrote thus unto Lucius sometime Kinge of this Realme of Englande;* Vos estis Vicarius Dei in Regno,

* Epist. Eleutherii. Citatur inter Leges Edwardi Primi.

mitted by God to the Custody of a Faithful Prince, that he may understand, that not only the Civil but the Ecclesiastical Polity also is attached to his Office.* God likewise has frequently given express commands to Princes to cut down the Groves, to destroy the Altars and Statues of Idols, and to transcribe for themselves a Book of the Law:† and Isaiah‡ saith; *that*

juxta Prophetam Regium, You are God's Vicar within your own Realm, according to the Prophet David.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 644.

* The two Tables of the Law of God, that is both the Religious and Civil Government of the State, are entrusted to the King's hands, not merely that he himself should keep and duly perform them in his own person, for that is the duty of every private man, but that he should take care that all his subjects, both Priests and Laymen, should in their several callings faithfully observe the same.

† Goddes meaning, touching this ceremonie was this, that the King's Booke shoulde be true and faultlesse. And therefore God commaunded him to take a Copie thereof out of the Registrie or Recordes, which were thought to be voide of al corruption, and were evermore keapte in the Temple, under the Custodie of the Priestess. Paulus* Phagius saithe, Every private man was commaunded to have one Booke severally to himselfe: but the Kinge was commaunded to have twoo; and for as mutche as the Kinge was a Publique Personne, therefore God willed him to take his Copie out of the publique Records of the Temple.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 648.

* Paulus Phagius. in Deuteron. cap. xvii.

‡ Isaiah xlix. 23.

Kings should be nursing Fathers to the Church; and their Queens her nursing Mothers: and independent of all these things we learn from Histories, and the Examples of the best Ages, that the administration of Ecclesiastical Affairs has always been considered by pious Monarchs as constituting a very essential part of their Duty.

Moses,* being a civil magistrate, and chief guide of the People, both received from God, and delivered to the people, the whole System of Worship and Sacrifices; and gave Aaron the High Priest a sharp and sore Rebuke for making the Golden Calf, and suffering the Corruption of Religion.† Joshua* also, though merely a civil

* When Aaron the High Priest had consented to the making and worshipping of the Golden Calfe, Moses, being then the Temporal Prince, rebuked him sharply unto his face; and in so dooinge did not the Bishoppes office, but onely his owne. As touchinge Josua, whom the Papists would fain have restrained from al Ecclesiastical Causes, he caused the people to be Circumcised; he caused Aultars for their Bloudy Sacrifices to be erected; he caused the Priestes to make their Sacrifices; he caused the Deuteronomie to be written on Stoaues; he caused bothe the Blessinges and the Curses of GOD to be pronounced; he spake openly to the people, and freed them from

† Exodus xxxii. 19, &c.

magistrate, yet, when he was first chosen by God and set as a Ruler over the People, received express commands on the subject of Religion and the Worship of God.*

David, the King, when the whole Religion of God was corrupted by the Practices of the wicked Saul, † brought back the Ark of God ;

Idolatrie. All these were cases not of Civile Policie, but of Religion.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 654.

In the opinion here expressed, St. Augustin considers, “ In hoc reges Deo serviunt, sicut eis divinitus præcipitur in quantum sunt reges, si in suo regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant ; non solum quæ pertinent ad Humanam Societatem, verum etiam quæ ad Divinam Religionem.” Herein do Kings serve God, as they are commanded from above, being Kings, if in their Dominions they enjoin that which is good, and restrain evil ; not only with respect to Human Society, and in things which pertain to the Religion of God.

Augustin Contra Cresconi, lib. iii. cap. 51.

* Joshua i. 8.

† Kinge David called the Bishoppes and Priestes together ; (not as a Prophet, as the Papistes vainly assert, but as a Kinge) he shewed them in what sorte the Religion of God was defaced ; he willed them to bringe the Arke into Sion ; he was presente himselfe ; he appointed and ordered the whole Triumphe ; he assigned whiche of the Levites, and in what order they shoulde serve before the Arke ; he allotted Aaron's Children, whiche were the Priestes, to walke eche man in his several office.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 655.

that is to say, he restored Religion to its former Purity: and was not only present with them as a counsellor and promoter of the mighty work, but also appointed Psalms and Hymns, put in order the Companies, instituted and arranged that whole Solemn Triumph, and was in effect the Head of the Priesthood.*

Solomon, the King, built unto the Lord a Temple, which his Father David had merely designed: and at its completion† made a long and eloquent oration to the people concerning Religion and the Worship of God: and afterwards displaced Abiathar, the Chief Priest, and appointed Zadoc in his stead.‡ After this, §when the Temple of God was grossly defiled and

* Chronicles xiii. 3. 6.

† 1 Kings viii. 12. 2 Chronicles vi. 2.

‡ Thus it appears that the wise Solomon thought it lawful to exercise his authority in Ecclesiastical and Spiritual cases of Religion, as well as in matters of temporal government. See this subject copiously and ably treated by Bishop Jewell in his Defence, pp. 650-58.

§ The Holy place of God was full of Filthinesse; the Gates of the Temple were shut up, that no man might enter in; the people had turned awaie their faces from the Tabernacle of the Lorde; there was no Incense; there was no Sacrifice. All these things had happened through the negligence and wicked-

polluted by the Wickedness and Impiety of the Priesthood, Hezekiah the King commanded them to carry forth the filthiness out of the Holy Place; to light the Lamps, to burn Incense, and to offer up sacrifices according to the ancient Institution:* and caused the Brazen Serpent,† which was then impiously adored by the People, to be taken away and pounded to dust.

Jehoshaphat, the King, overthrew and utterly destroyed all the High Places and Groves,‡ whereby he saw that the worship of God was impeded, and the people diverted by a private Superstition from attending at the Great Temple of Jerusalem; whither it was their duty to come from all parts of the Realm at least once a year to offer up their Public Adorations. King Josiah§ with the utmost diligence admonished

nesse of the Priestess; who did nothinge by waie of Reforme, but by the Kinges Commandement.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 657.

* 2 Chronicles xxix. 5-7.

† 2 Kings xviii. 4.

‡ 2 Chron. xvii. 6.

§ He set the Priests in their Charges, and encouraged them to the service of the House of the Lord, saying, sanctify yourselves, and prepare your Brethren, that they may do according to the word of the Lord.

■ Chron. xxxv. 2. 6.

the Priests and Bishops of their duty.* King Jehoshaphat† curbed the insolence and luxury of the Sacerdotal Order. Jehu‡ put to death all the impious Prophets of Baal: and not to enumerate any more examples from the Holy Scriptures, or Old Testament; let us now consider how the Church has been governed since the Birth of Christ under the Gospel Dispensation, or New Testament.

The Christian Emperors in former times appointed the Councils of the Bishops. § Con-

* 2 Kings xxiii. 21.

† This monarch commanded the Priests to receive no more money of the people, but to deliver it for the breaches of the House of the Lord,

2 Kings xii. 7.

‡ 2 Kings x. 25.

§ What right Emperours had in summoning Councils by these few authorities, and examples followinge, it maie soone appeare.* Eusebius saith, Constantinus Synodum Œcumenicam collegit et Episcopos, ut undique accelerarent, honorificis literis convocavit: (not the Pope, but) Constantine gathered a General Council, and by honourable writes called the Bishoppes of all Countries to repaire thither. † Theodoretus saith, "A greates, and a Holy Council was gathered to Nice by the Grace of God, and (not by the Pope, but) by the godly Emperoure." ‡ Sozomen saith, (not the Pope, but)

* Eusebius de Vita Constant, Orat. iii. † Theodoret, lib. i. cap. 9.

‡ Sozomen, lib. i. cap. 17.

stantine called the Council of Nice : Theodosius the first that of Constantinople : Theodosius the second that of Ephesus : and Martian that of Chalcedon. And when the Heretic Ruffinus brought forward the authority of a Synod to support his arguments, St. Jerome, his opponent, in order to refute him, exclaimed ; “ Tell us what Emperor commanded that Synod to be assembled.” This same Father also, in his Funeral Oration for Paula, a Roman Lady, cites the Letters of the Emperors who commanded the Bishops both of Greece and Italy to hold a general Council at Rome.

It is an indisputable fact that for the space of five hundred years the Emperor alone appointed the Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and Presided at the Councils of Bishops : and therefore we are the more astonished at the unreasonable de-

“ The Emperoure Constantine wrote unto al the Rulers of the Churches, that they shoulde be at Nice by a daie ; to the Bishoppes of the Apostolique Sees, to Macarius the Bishop of Hierusalem, and to Julius the Bishop of Rome. In which wordes this also maie be noted, that the Pope then was under the Emperours summone no less than others.”

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 670.

mands of the Pope of Rome, who, although he well knows that whilst the Roman Empire was undivided this right was vested in the Emperor alone, and that now the Cæsarean or Imperial Majesty has devolved to many Kings, who therefore are entitled to this common Prerogative; we are I say astonished that he presumptuously arrogates this power to himself alone, and thinks it sufficient to communicate his wishes respecting the Convening a Council to the Greatest Monarch of the Earth, with the same easy indifference as if he were addressing a Servant.* But although the modesty and forbearance of the Emperor Ferdinand may be such as to induce him from ignorance of Papal arts to digest this insult upon his authority: still the Pope, who assumes the appearance of so much sanctity, cannot be excused for offering this affront, and arrogating to himself another man's Right.

Some of our Adversaries may here possibly exclaim, that the power of convening Councils was vested in the Emperor, because the Authority of the Bishop of Rome was not at that

* Pius IV. in Bulla sua ad Imperatorem Ferdinandum.

period so extensive: but that even then, the Emperor neither sat with the Bishops in the Council, nor in any instance exercised his authority upon the Subject in debate. This however I directly deny: for we are informed by * Theodoret, that the Emperor Constantine, † in the Council of Nice, not only took his seat with the Bishops, but also exhorted them to determine the ques-

* Historia Eccles. lib. i. cap. 5.

† In “the Defence of the Apologie,” pp. 677-80. Bishop Jewell has collected a vast number of testimonies from the Ancient Fathers and Councils, all clearly demonstrating that the Emperors in the earliest and purest ages of the Gospel were the Supreme heads of the Church. “Constantinus erat Vocalissimus Dei præco et quasi Servator ac Medicus animarum.” * The Emperor Constantine was a most eloquent Preacher of the Word of God, and as it were the Saviour and Physician of Souls. Nicephorus † when addressing the Emperor Emmanuel Palæologus, says; “Tu es Dux Professionis Fidei Nostræ.” Your Majesty is the Head of the Profession of our Faith. Eusebius * writes to the same effect. Sedit tota Synodus reverenter, ut par fuit, cum silentio expectans adventum Principis. The whole Council sat in becoming and reverent Silence anxiously awaiting the arrival of the Prince. And at the Council of Nice, when the Bishops were engaged in a warm dispute on certain points of Church Discipline, they offered their books of Accusation *not to the Pope or his Legates*, for whom they had no respect, but to the Emperor. ‡

* Eusebius in Vita Constant. Orat. 1.

† Nicephorus in Præfat. ad Emmanuel.

‡ Socrates, lib. i. cap. 8.

tion then under discussion by the Writings of the Apostles and Prophets; "In discussions of this nature," says the Emperor; "we have before our eyes the Doctrine of the Holy Ghost which we ought to follow: for the Books of the Evangelists and Apostles; and the Oracles of the Prophets clearly point out to us, what opinions we ought to entertain concerning the Will of God:"* and, according to Socrates,† the Emperor Theodosius‡ not only sat amongst the Bishops, but was also the sole Judge or Moderator of the dispute in question; destroying

* Eusebius de vita Constantini, lib. iii. c. 10, 12, 13, edit. Vales.

† Socrates Hist. Ecclesiæ, lib. v. cap. 10.

‡ The Emperor Theodosius, to establish the unity of the Church, commanded the Bishops and most learned men of his Empire to appear before him, and each one to write a separate Confession of his Faith, that he himself might decide on the excellency of their Tenets. Having received their writings he ordered the celebration of Public worship, and prayed himself both openly and privately, that it would please God to assist him with his Holy Spirit, and enable him to decide justly. After this he carefully perused each separate Confession, and upon mature deliberation pronounced in favour of the Catholic Doctrine; condemning the Confessions of Faith written by the Arians and Eunomians, and ordering them to be destroyed.

Sozomen, lib. vii. cap. 12.

the Writings of the Heretics, and sanctioning and confirming the Decrees of the Catholics.

In the Council of Chalcedon, a Civil Magistrate, on his own authority, condemned for Heretics the Bishops Dioscorus, Juvenal, and Thalassius; and degraded them from their Dignities in the Church. *

In the third Council of Constantinople, Constantine, a Civil Magistrate, not only took his seat amongst the Bishops, but also subscribed with them. "We have," says he, "both read and subscribed." In the second Arausicanian Council,

* Videtur nobis justum esse eidem pænæ Dioscorum Reverendum Episcopum Alexandria, et Juvenalem Reverendum Episcopum Hierosolymorum, et Thalassium Reverendum Episcopum Cæsareæ Cappadociæ subjacere; et a Sancto Concilio secundum Regulas ab Episcopali dignitate fieri alienos. We deem it right that Dioscorus the Reverend Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenal the Reverend Bishop of Jerusalem, and Thalassius the Reverend Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia be subjected to the same punishment, and degraded from their Episcopal Dignities by the Council according to the Canons.

Concil. Chalced Act i. p. 831, and Evagrius, lib. ii. cap. 4.

The same Council also decreed that the city of New Rome (Constantinople) being now the seat of Empire and the Senate, should enjoy equal Privileges with the Elder Rome; and have the same Majesty and authority in Ecclesiastical affairs,

the Ambassadors of Princes, who were noble-men by birth; not only expressed their opinions on the subject of Religion, but also subscribed amongst the Bishops: for thus it is written at the latter end of that Council; Petrus Marcellinus, and Felix Liberius, Patricians, Men of Rank, and celebrated Captains of France have consented and subscribed: Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, * Cariatho, and Marcellus, all men of Honour, and Magistrates have subscribed.

If Military Officers and Noblemen could then subscribe in the Councils, may not Emperors and Monarchs do so now? In a case so self evident, a long argument and laboured defence would appear useless, were we not contending with men, who from a Spirit of Strife and Sophistry are accustomed to deny even the plainest facts; nay even those very things which they see with their eyes, and know to be absolutely true. The Emperor Justinian † passed

* Some editions have Cariattho.

† The Emperor Justinian * in Ecclesiastical causes fre-

* Authen. Collat. i. Tit. 6. Quomodo oportet Episcopos. Consult also Concil. Chalced. Actio i. pag. 780. Concil. Paris. i. Marius Victorinus Contra Aria-

a Law for improving the Morals, and curbing the Insolence of the Clergy: and although he was both a Christian and Catholic Monarch, he deposed Sylverius and Vigilius, two Popes, the Successors of St. Peter, and Vicars of Christ, from the Papal throne.*

quently makes use of these expressions: *Definimus, Mandamus, Jubemus*. We determine, we conclude, we command, and alluding to the neglect of the Bishops, he says; *definimus ut nullus Deo amabilium Episcoporum foris a sua Ecclesia plus quam per totum annum abesse audeat*. We decree that no Godly Bishop shall dare to be absent from his Church for a longer period than a year.

nos. lib. ii. Evagrius, lib. ii. cap. 4. Sozomen, lib. iv. cap. 16. Æneas Sylvius, &c. and the Defence of the Apologie, pp. 686—90.

* Even the warmest advocates of Popery have not denied this power in the Emperor. For Franciscus Zarabella* says, *Papa potest accusari coram imperatore de quolibet crimine notorio, et Imperator requirere potest a Papa rationem Fidei*; The Pope for any notorious crime may be accused before the Emperor; and the latter may compel his Holiness to give an account of his Faith. And Hervæus† adds, *Si Papa sit incorrigibilis, nec Cardinales possint per se amovere scandalum de Ecclesia, tunc in Subsidium juris deberent supplicando invocare Brachium Sæculare, et tunc Imperator, requisitus a Cardinalibus deberet procedere contra Papam*. If the Pope is incorrigible, and the Cardinals of themselves are unable to remove the Scandal from the Church, then ought they to call

* Francis. Zarabella. De Schemate et Concilio.

† Hervæus De Potest. Papæ, cap. xiii.

Since then we find that Princes have assumed and exercised authority over Bishops; have received from God Commandments respecting Religion; have brought back the Ark of God; composed sacred Hymns and Psalms; erected Temples; and made orations on the subject of God's Worship: purged the Temples; demolished the High Places; and destroyed the Groves with fire: since in many instances they have admonished the Priests of their duty, and prescribed Rules of moral conduct to them; slain the false Prophets; deposed Bishops; convened Assemblies of Prelates; sat with the Episcopal order, and given them instructions how to act: punished Heretical Bishops; taken cognizance of Religious affairs; subscribed, and pronounced sentence; and done all these things (and that both uprightly and piously) on their own individual authority, uncommissioned by any superior: since these are incontrovertible facts, can we with propriety say, that they have no connection with Religion? Or that a Christian Prince, who interests himself in these matters, is guilty of presumption, in the aid of the Secular arm of the Law; and the Emperor being thus called upon by the Cardinals ought immediately to proceed against the Pope.

wickednss, and impiety? In all affairs of this nature, the most ancient and the most Christian Kings and Emperors have interposed their authority; and yet were they never on this account charged with presumption or impiety. And who will pretend to find more Catholic Princes, or more illustrious Examples?*

If therefore they, being merely Civil Magistrates and Governors of Kingdoms, could lawfully do these things; for what Crimes are the Monarchs of this period, who are in the same exalted Station, prohibited from acting in like manner? Or what especial endowments of learning, experience, and sanctity do the Papists now possess, that, (contrary to the invariable Practice of the Ancient Catholic Bishops, who always invited Princes and Potentates to consult with them on the affairs of the Church,) they utterly prohibit all Christian Kings from any

* Touchinge the Princes Power, wee are certainly assured by Goddes Holy Woorde, It is from God. As for the Pope's infinite and Universal Power throughout the Holy Scriptures, from the Genesis unto the Apocalyps, onlesse it be the Power of Darknesse, yee can finde nothinge.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 696.

participation in their debates, and will not even suffer them to appear in their Councils? We are however compelled to allow that by these proceedings they have cautiously provided for the safety of themselves and their dominion, which they foresaw must otherwise quickly have fallen into decay and ruin. For if they, whom God has placed in the most exalted situation, should once perceive and understand the arts of the Papists;* how they treat with contempt the Commandments of Christ; how the Light of the Gospel is by them obscured and darkened; the unwary led astray; and the Path which leads to the Kingdom of God obstructed, and closed against all who differ from them: if these vile practices were once thoroughly comprehended, they would never so patiently submit to such arrogant contempt, and bitter mockery. But now through

* "The Lion, or Wilde Bulle, be they never so Cruel, or greate of Courage, yet, if yee maie once closely cover their eies, ye maie easily leade them whither yee liste, without Resistance; even so dooth the Pope hoodewinke, and blindefolde the Princes of the World; whiche donne, he maketh them to holde his stiroke, to leade his Horse, to kneele downe, and to kisse his shooe, and to attende upon him, at his pleasure. But if they knewe either him or themselves, they would not doo it.'

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 698.

their own blindness and imprudence they are as it were yoked to all the Errors and Absurdities of Romish Superstition.*

We indeed, as has before been asserted, have proceeded in our Reformation with the utmost caution; neither has a passion for novelty and innovation biassed us: we have advanced step by step; we have proved all things, and weighed them in the scale of impartiality and of an unprejudiced judgment. Neither should we ever have been induced to undertake this necessary Reformation of Religion, had not the ma-

* *Januas veritatis claudunt Sacerdotes Hæretici, Sciunt enim si manifesta esset veritas, quod ipsorum Ecclesia esset relinquenda, et ipsi de Sacerdotali dignitate ad humilitatem venirent popularem.* Heretical Bishops shut up the Gates of Truth, well knowing that if her influence is once established, their Church will quickly be deserted, and they themselves brought from their Sacerdotal dignity to a level with the common people.

Chrysostom in Opere Imperfecto. Hom. xlv.

“ Oh miserable Emperors and Princes of the World, who submit to all these and even worse insults, at the Pope’s hands, and make yourselves Slaves unto the Church; you see that the world is miserably oppressed by these men, and still seek no remedy for these evils; nor apply your hearts unto wisdom and knowledge.

Petrus Ferrarien. Citatur ab Illyrico inter testes Veritatis.

nifest will of God, revealed in the Holy Scriptures, united with fears for our own Salvation, absolutely compelled us to it. For although we have separated ourselves from that Church to which they absurdly give the name of Catholic, and have thereby drawn upon ourselves the odium of men who are incapable of duly estimating our reasons; yet we are satisfied, (and every man of virtue and common sense, anxiously desirous of his own salvation, ought to be satisfied also) that we have only departed from a Church which can assert no just claim to Infallibility; nay, which Christ, who is truly infallible, long before her corruptions predicted would fall into errors; and into which errors we ourselves have ocular demonstration that she has fallen in her long-continued Apostasy from the faith of the venerable Fathers of the Christian Religion, of the Apostles, of Christ himself; and from the Doctrine and Discipline of the Primitive and Catholic Church!

On the other hand, we have copied as exactly as we could the pattern of the Church as it was constituted in the days of the Apostles and early Catholic Bishops and Fathers; and which

we know was then a perfect Church: or to use the language of Tertullian, “an uncorrupted Virgin,” inasmuch as she was yet free from any idolatry, and had not admitted any material or universal error in faith or practice. Neither is it with respect to doctrine alone, but in the administration of the Sacraments and the ritual of our Public Worship we have also laboured to reduce it to the simplicity and purity of this Primitive Model. In thus bringing back the Gospel to its original and first state, after it had been impiously neglected and corrupted by the Church of Rome, we have only followed the example of Christ himself, and all good men; and we appeal to the soundness of those principles which induced us to refer to the Original Model as the only criterion of our Reformation: for this principle, says that most ancient Father Tertullian, must always hold good in judging of Heretical Opinions; “The Original itself is true; each later copy is less genuine.”

Irenæus* often appealed to the examples of

* The Papists lay great stress on the authority of Irenæus, when they arrogate to themselves Universal Authority, but whether their opinion is well founded will be seen by the fol-

the most ancient Churches, as being nearer to the Apostolic age, and therefore less subject to corruptions and innovations. And why is this great principle now deserted? Why do not we also return to the examples of the early Churches? Why may not we act according to the principles formerly maintained without the least opposition by the numerous Bishops and Catholic Fathers in the Council of Nice, that "Ancient institutions should be esteemed inviolable."*

Ezra, when he intended to rebuild the Temple of Jerusalem, did not seek a model from that of Ephesus, although most exquisitely adorned and beautified: nor did he seek a ritual from Pagan

lowing words of Jewell: "The Pre-eminence that Irenæus geveth to the Church of Rome, standeth in Consente, and Unitie, and Agreemente of Doctrine, not in Superioritie, or Governement over al the Worlde. For proufe whereof, the Papistes maie understande, that * Irenæus in the same place likewise specially noticeth the Church of Smyrna, planted by Polycarpus, and the Church of Ephesus, planted by St. John, and generally sundrie other greate Churches planted by menne of Apostolical Dignitie, unto which he willet us in like manner to repaire, and not only to the Church of Rome.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 702.

* Irenæus, lib. iii. cap. 3.

* The words used were "ἡθι ἀρχαία κρατέτω.

Rome, although he was undoubtedly aware that it could have furnished him with one in its numerous Sacrifices, solemn Feasts and appointed Prayers, and in the Sacred Books of its ancient Prince, Numa Pompilius.* He thought it amply sufficient to follow closely the model of the Ancient Temple, first built by Solomon according to the Divine command: and accurately to imitate that Holy Ritual, every part of which God himself had prescribed to Moses.

The opinions of the Jews on this head may be inferred from hence, that the Prophet Haggai,† when the building of the Temple under Ezra had been completed, and the Jewish nation to all appearance had a sufficient cause for gratitude in this new proof of mercy in their Almighty God Jehovah, brought tears to the eyes of all, when he reminded those who survived the Captivity, and had seen the former Temple before its destruction by the Babylonian forces, how far

* Bishop Jewell here enumerates the following Ceremonies and Sacred Rites which were common among the Pagans, Hecatombæ, Solitauralia, Lectisternia, Supplicationes, et Libros Numæ Pompilii rituales, for a full account of which I would refer my readers to Adams' Roman Antiquities.

† Haggai ii. 3, 4, &c.

the present fell beneath the glories of the former structure: for they could only think their Temple truly restored, by its bearing a perfect resemblance to the first building, and equalling its ancient magnificence.

Thus when St. Paul* wished to purify the Lord's Supper from the corruptions which even in those early times the Corinthians had suffered to creep into its celebration, he proposed our Lord's Original Institution of it, as the only pattern they were to follow; "I delivered," says he, "unto you what I also received of the Lord." And Christ, in refuting the false doctrine of the Pharisees, exhorted them to return to the original institution of marriage, saying; "From the beginning it was not so."† And when he undertook to shew the bigotry and avarice of the Jewish Priesthood, and to reform the abuses of the Temple, it was by an appeal to its original design, for he argues thus; "This house was designed to be the house of Prayer,‡ that all people might therein worship in spirit and in truth;

* 1 Cor. xi. 23.

† Matt. xxi. 13.

‡ Matt. xix. 4.

Mark x. 6.

bring it back then to this its first institution; for it was never built to be a den of thieves.”* Thus all those Princes, whose conduct in the Scriptures has received the sanction of the divine approbation, have received it on this very account, that “they had walked in the ways of their Father David;” the meaning of which is, that they had gone back to the very Original and Fountain-head of Religion, and restored it to its primitive integrity.

When therefore we saw that there was no part of Religion which they had not perverted; when we saw the goodly fabric of God’s Church a ruin; we thought its Restoration would more easily be effected by proposing to ourselves the first Churches as examples: of which we are infallibly assured, as they have not erred, so neither did they ever allow Solitary Masses, Prayers in an Unknown Tongue, a General Corruption of the Christian Ritual, together with Ceremonies and Opinions at once disgraceful to common sense, and in themselves weak and

* Matt. xxi. 13.

irrational. And when we thus wished to restore to its ancient integrity the Church of God, we neither sought, nor indeed desired any other foundation on which to raise it, than that which we knew had long ago been laid by the Apostles themselves, and which foundation was no other than our Saviour Jesus Christ. When therefore we heard God himself speaking to us in his word, and had the bright examples of the Ancient Primitive Church before our eyes; whilst the summoning of a general Council was a thing not to be depended on; and the proceedings of such a Council, if summoned, still less so; whilst on the one hand (I say) we had no doubt concerning the will of God, and on the other deemed it a heinous sacrilege to be over anxious and solicitous concerning the judgment of men; we could not any longer “confer with flesh and blood,” but did that, which is not merely justifiable in itself, but can also plead the frequent examples of men of unfeigned Religion, and of Bishops who were truly Catholic: that is to say, we have taken measures for the good of our own individual Churches by summoning a Provincial Synod; a course we know to have

been generally pursued by the Ancient Fathers by way of experiment, before they appealed to an aggregate Council of all Christian Churches.

Canons made in these Particular Councils are still extant: as those made at Carthage under Cyprian, at Ancyra, at Neocæsarea, and at Gangra in Paphlagonia: all which in the opinion of many persons were convened long before the name of the Nicene Council called *Æcumenical* or General was ever heard of. * And in this manner, without waiting for a general Council, the disputes were formerly carried on in a Provincial Assembly with the Pelagians and Donatists. And thus, when the Emperor Constantius openly favoured the Arian Bishop Auxentius, that truly

* From all these circumstances it appears that men were not accustomed in every emergency to apply to the Pope alone, but had recourse to other persons whom they considered able and qualified to assist them in their difficulties. On this account we find Origen designated "*Magister Ecclesiarum*," Master or Instructor of the Churches; St. Basil, "*Canon Fidei*," The Rule of Faith; Eusebius Samosatensis, "*Regula Veritatis*," The Standard of Truth; Athanasius, "*Orbis Oculus*," The Eye of the World; and in cases of doubt these learned Fathers were as frequently applied to as the Pope. See Hieronymus in *Apologia adversus Ruffin*, and Gregor. Nazianzen ad *Heronem et ad Simplicium*.

Christian Bishop* Athanasius did not appeal to a General Council (because he saw nothing could be done by it on account of the Emperor's influence, and the power of party-motives) but he appealed to his own clergy and people, or in other words to a Provincial Synod. Thus a Decree was passed in the Council of Nice, that twice every year, and in another at Carthage, that at least once in the same period, a Convocation of Bishops should be held in every province: which, says the Council of Chalcedon, was done with the intent that if errors or abuses appeared in any quarter, they might without the least delay be corrected on the very spot where they had arisen.

Whereupon, when Secundus and Palladius disowned the authority of the Council of Aquileia, because it was not a public and General Council, Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, replied, that the assembling of Synods, and holding Provincial Councils by the Western Bishops ought not to be deemed an innovation, or foreign custom by any one; for that the Western Bishops had

* Some editions read "Ambrosius."

done the same before, and that too not seldom; and that the Greeks had done it very often.

In like manner, the Emperor Charles the Great* held a Provincial Council in Germany for the discontinuing the use of images in the Churches, in opposition to the second Council of Nice. Nor is this custom altogether new and unparalleled in our own country; we ourselves having at different times held Provincial Synods,

The credite of the Emperoure Charles Booke, reportinge the Decrees of the Councel of Frankfoorde touchinge the Adoration of Images, I leave wholly to the indifferente discretion of the Reader. It was Printed, not at Geneva, as Mr. Hardinge surmises, but in Parise. The setter out proveth it not to be forged by many good and likely reasons. An anciente Copie of the same is yet (A. D. 1562) stil to be seene in Rome in the Laterane, even in the Pope's owne Librarie. Augustinus Steuchus* the maister of the same Librarie, reporteth the same. The Emperor Louis, sonne unto Charles, wrote a Booke yet extant and remaininge in France to like purpose. Freere† Eckius also beareth witnesse unto the same Booke of the Emperoure Charles, although untruely and guilefully as his manner is; for he saith that Charles wrote four Bookes in Defence of Images; whereas indeede the Bookes are directly written againste Images.

The Defence of the Apologie, p. 712.

* Augustin Steuchus, De donatione Constantini, lib. i. cap. 6.

† Eckius de Imaginibus.

where we have made laws for the private government of our own Churches.

But what need is there of multiplying proofs in a matter self-evident? For what else are even those greatest and fullest Councils, to which the Papists attach so much importance, if compared with all the Churches in the world which acknowledge and profess the Christian Faith? What else are even these, but mere private Councils and Provincial Synods of a few Bishops? For although even Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland should be thus assembled; yet where would be Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania? in all which countries there are not only private Christians, but Bishops also? How then can any man in his senses esteem this a General Council? How can they pretend to possess the consent of the whole Christian world, when so many parts of it have not been asked their opinion? For instance, of what description was the last Council of Trent? And, in the name of common sense, how could it be called General, when it was attended by only forty Bishops

from all the different Christian Kingdoms and States? And among these Bishops some were so ignorant,* that they needed the Instruction of a Schoolmaster; some so utterly destitute of knowledge, that they had never read the Scriptures!!!

The truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ however does not depend on the authority of Councils; or to use the language of St. Paul,† on “man’s judgment.” And if they to whom the government of God’s Church is more especially entrusted will neither understand nor

* It is certain, writes Alphonsus * de Castro, that some Popes are so totally ignorant that they do not even comprehend the Rules of Grammar, and Erasmus † discoursing on some *learned* Popish Doctors says, *Sibi videntur Semidei miro supercilio præ se despicientes Grammaticos ; Qui si Grammaticæ litassent, non ad hunc modum se pueris deridendos propinarent.* They consider themselves Demigods, and look down with supercilious contempt on poor Grammarians; it had however been much more to their advantage to have acquired a perfect knowledge of Grammar, and not have subjected themselves to the Scorn and Derision of Schoolboys and Infants.

* Alphonsus *Adversus Hæreses*, lib. i. cap. 4.

† Erasmus in *Epistolam Hieronymi ad Eustochium*.

† 1 Corinthians iv. 3.

fulfil their duty, but harden their hearts against God and against his Anointed One; if they still obstinately pervert the right ways of the Lord; God will rather make the very stones cry out, and proclaim his will by the mouths of very babes and sucklings, than suffer their false doctrines to go unrefuted, seeing he is able to defend and promote his spiritual kingdom, not only without the aid but in direct opposition to the decrees of Councils. "There be many devices in man's heart," (says * Solomon) "but it is the Counsel of the Lord that shall stand;" for against his Sovereign Will neither wisdom, nor prudence, nor Counsel can prevail. "Things," says Hilary, "set up by human means do not continue long: the Church is not built by those means, is not to be preserved by them: for it is firmly set upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets,† and is held together and united by one corner stone, CHRIST JESUS.‡

* Proverbs xix. 21.

† Ephesians ii. 20.

‡ The right and onely waie of buildinge Goddes House is to laie the foundation thereof upon the EVERLASTINGE WOORDE AND WILL OF GOD.* St. Paul† saith; "*Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*" And

* The Defence of the Apologie, p. 716. † 1 Corinthians iii. 11

Most clear in its details, and singularly adapted to the present time is the testimony of Jerome;* “Whomsoever the devil has deceived, and with an almost Siren-like enchantment has, as it were, lulled into the sweet yet dangerous slumbers of perdition, them the Word of God startles from the accursed lethargy, exclaiming, “*Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.*”† In like manner also when Christ, and the Preaching of God’s Word, and of True Doctrine shall come, and the Burden of the spiritual Nineveh,

the Prophet Isaiah* declares that “*To the Law and to the Testimony, if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.*” Wherefore as St. Hilary† says, in the Apology, “*Aliter extruenda, aliter custodienda Ecclesia est; Fundamentum ejus super Prophetas et Apostolos collocandum est, Ecclesia ita a Deo, id est, Doctrinis Dei ædificata non conudit.*” In a different manner must the Church be built, and in a different manner must it be preserved. The Foundation of it must be laid upon the Apostles and Prophets; the Church being thus built by God, that is, by the Doctrines of God, shall never fall.

* Isaiah viii. 20.

† Hilarius in Psalm cxxvi.

* In prophetam Nahum, cap. iii. ad finem.

† Ephesians v. 14.

that mystical and gorgeous harlot, shall receive its consummation, the people who had been lulled asleep under their former teachers shall be awakened, and flee for their lives, and take refuge in the mountains of the Scriptures. There they shall find Moses, and Joshua, the son of Nun, to be mountains of safety; there they shall find the Prophets to be mountains of safety; there they shall find the mountains of the New Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists. And when the people shall have fled to these mountains of protection, and have become deeply versed in the reading of them, although they find no teacher, (for the harvest truly will be great, but the labourers will be few,) yet shall the zeal of the people, in fleeing for refuge to these mountains, be approved, and the negligence of the Teachers be rebuked."

St. Jerome has spoken these things so clearly that they need no comment: with such peculiar adaptation to the events which we see now taking place before our eyes, that he almost seems to have spoken in the Spirit of Prophecy, and to have laboured to set before us the whole

state of our own times ; as well the destruction of the Apocalyptic Harlot of Babylon,* arrayed in gorgeous apparel, as the Restoration of God's Church; as well the blindness and supine indifference of the Bishops of Rome, as the zeal and forwardness of the people. For who is so blinded by prejudice as not to discover who and what those Teachers are, whom St. Jerome here designates as those who should lead the people into error, and lull them into supineness and indifference about Salvation? Who does not perceive that their Rome is the spiritual Nineveh;† the deformity of which was once indeed con-

* “*Petrus in prima Epistola sub nomine Babylonis Romam significat.*” St. Peter in his first Epistle alludes to Rome under the name of Babylon.*

“*Roma est quasi secunda Babylon.*” Rome is as the second Babylon.†

“*Ubi est illa dudum super omnia regna exaltata Inclyta Roma, Babylon secunda?*” Where is that noble Rome, the second Babylon, so lately exalted above all Empires?‡

“*Tunc Babylon cadet, quando novissime potestatem persequendi Sanctos acceperit.*” Then shall Babylon fall to the ground, when at length she shall have received power to persecute the Saints.§

* Hieronymus in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. in Marco.

† Augustin de Genesi contra Manich. lib. ii. cap. 1.

‡ Ambrosius Ainsbertus in Apocalyp. lib. vi.

§ Primasius in Apocalyp. cap. xiv.

cealed beneath the false glare of external costliness; but the mask is now torn off, and her hideousness is fully seen; and she has become an object of disgust. Who does not perceive that pious men, roused as if from the deepest slumbers of lethargy, by the bursting forth of the Gospel Light, and the Thunders of the Preaching* of God's Word, without waiting for the decision of Councils which must entirely consist of an Episcopacy thus utterly corrupted, have betaken themselves at once to the mountains of the Scriptures? †

* “*Ecclesia post eosdem dies, quibus deprimitur tamen circa finem temporum grandi prædicationis virtute roborabitur.*” The Church after these days of her Affliction, shall afterwards notwithstanding be strengthened by mighty and powerful preaching. *Gregorius in Job. cap. xxix.*

† “*Tunc qui in Judæa sunt fugiant ad Montes, id est, qui sunt in Christianitate conferant se ad Scripturas. Montes sunt scripturæ Apostolorum et Prophetarum, &c. Sciens Dominus tantam confusionem rerum in novissimis diebus esse futuram, ideo mandat, ut Christiani, qui sunt in Christianitate, volentes firmitatem accipere Fidei veræ ad nullam rem fugiant, nisi ad Scripturas. Alioqui, si ad alias res respexerint, scandalizabuntur, et peribunt non intelligentes, quæ sit vera Ecclesia; et per hoc incident in abominationem Desolationis.*” Then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the Mountains; that is to say, let them that profess the name of Christ, flee unto the Scriptures. The Scriptures of the Apostles and the Prophets are the

But objections may be urged, that no reformation of abuses should even be attempted without the express command of the Bishop of Rome; inasmuch as he is the only bond of union to the Christian World, the only High Priest of the Tribe of Levi, pointed out in Deuteronomy by God himself as divinely commissioned to be consulted in all matters of importance; and by his final judgment alone to decide what is Truth in all controversies of either Faith or Practice that may ever arise amongst mankind. If therefore any man do not abide by his decision, that man ought to be slain in the midst of his brethren; but that the Pope himself can in none of his actions be subject to any earthly tribunal whatever; that he reigns on earth, even as Christ himself reigns in heaven; that to him alone is the power committed of

Mountains, &c. Our Lord knowing that such confusion would prevail in the last days, therefore commands all Christians, who believe in Christ, and are desirous of having the assurance of True Faith, to have recourse to nothing but the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they pay the slightest regard to other things, they shall be accounted guilty, and perish, not understanding what is the true Church, and by these means they shall fall into the *Abomination of Desolation*.

Chrysostom. in Matt. Homil. xlix.

doing whatever Christ, or God himself can do; for his and Christ's Consistory are one and the same; without him there can be no Faith, no Hope, no Church; and that whosoever abjures him, at the same moment renounces and utterly casts away his own Eternal Salvation.

These are the impious flatteries with which the Canonists, who are the mere creatures and retainers of the Roman Court, have exalted the arrogance of its claims: and with how little modesty may be inferred from this one consideration, that they could scarcely have attributed more numerous, and certainly not more ample powers to Christ himself.

Notwithstanding all this, we have not abjured the Papal Supremacy from the mere caprice of our own minds, or any of the baser motives of private interest: nay, we could rather have solemnly wished that such an abjuration on our parts had not been rendered a matter of absolute necessity by the conduct of the Pope himself. The truth however was, that it was only by forsaking him that we could come to Christ. For he would allow us to remain with him only on

similar conditions with those offered by Nahash, the King of Ammon, to the inhabitants of Jabesh Gilead;* “that he might thrust out all our right Eyes;” for his object is to force from us the Holy Scriptures, the Gospel of our Salvation, and all the Hope which we have in Christ Jesus: and these, and these only, are the impious conditions on which he will accept our allegiance.

And as for the common argument founded on the Pope’s right of succession to St. Peter,† as if on that account he carried the Holy Spirit in his own breast, and was endowed with all the infallibility‡ of divine inspiration, it is of no weight: nay utterly unworthy of any reflecting mind. God’s Grace is promised not to offices and successions, but to him that feareth God

* 1 Samuel xi. 2.

† St. Chrysostom * says, “Non Cathedra facit Sacerdotem, sed Sacerdos Cathedram, Nec Locus sanctificat Hominem; sed Homo locum.” It is not the Chair that makes the Bishop, but the Bishop the Chair; Neither is it the Place that halloweth the Man, but the Man halloweth the Place. In like manner † St. Jerome, “Non Sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca Sanctorum:” They are not always the Children of Saints, who get possession of their Places.

* Chrysostom. dis. xl. Multi.

† Hieron. dis. xl. Non est facile.

‡ See Erasmus in Annotationibus in 1 Cor. vii.

and worketh righteousness. Wealth or Endowments, says * St. Jerome, may make one Bishop more powerful than others, yet all Bishops without exception are equally successors of the Apostles. But if they rest the point at issue merely on the claims of any particular See, or the peculiar rites and ceremonies of Consecration to that See, then I would remind them that a Manasseh has succeeded to the throne of David, and a Caiaphas to the Tiara of Aaron: nay, that an Idol itself hath often stood in the very Temple of Jehovah. Even Heathen history will shame them from such wretched prejudices as these, in recording the story of Archidamus, a Lacedæmonian. His continued boasting of his descent from Hercules met with the following severe reproof from Nicostratus; “Can you be the descendant from Hercules? He made it the business of his life to rid the world of wicked men, but your sole aim is to make even the good wicked.” Thus when the Pharisees rested their claims on their lineal descent, and natural succession from the loins of Abraham, our Lord shewed the utter fallacy of all such grounds of

* Hieron. ad Evagrium.

spiritual reliance; “Ye seek to kill me, a Man that have told you the truth, which I have heard of God: this did not Abraham; *Ye are of your father the Devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.”

But let us for a moment concede the point of succession: may we not demand; is the Pope the only Bishop that has succeeded the great Apostle? May we not demand in what he has succeeded him? In what act of Religion? In the performance of what individual function? In what particular mode of life? What similarity did the great Apostle ever bear to a Roman Pontiff, or a Roman Pontiff to him? Such a similarity can only be maintained by assertions which will compel us to draw the following conclusions; that the Apostle, when at Rome, never taught the Gospel; that He never obeyed his Lord's injunction; “Feed my flock”; that He took away the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; that He hid the treasures of his Lord; that He only sat in the Lateran, and as the mere caprice or interest of the moment dictated, described the

* St. John viii. 40, 41.

different divisions and subdivisions of his own *Purgatory, and assigned to each the varieties and degrees of punishment: dealing with the wretched souls according to his own arbitrary will; sending some to torment, and delivering others in a moment for a stipulated sum of money; that He instituted Solitary Masses, which might be celebrated in every corner; that He muttered the awful mysteries of our Religion in a low inaudible voice, and foreign language; that he set up the Eucharist on high in every Church, over every Altar, to be gazed upon and worshipped; and had it borne before him wherever he went on an ambling nag, with lighted tapers and the

* None of the Popes, Saints, or Cardinals have ever decided where this imaginary Purgatory is. Bellarmine * acknowledges that "The Church hath not yet defined that point," but he thinks with most *good Papists* that it is situated within the bowels of the earth. He then proceeds to tell us from abundance of Schoolmen, as wise as himself, that in the earth there are *four* cells, or dungeons, or at least one *huge great one* divided into *four apartments*; the *first* and lowest is Hell; the *second* is Purgatory; the *third* is "Limbus Infantum," *the sucking lobby*; the *fourth* is "Limbus Patrum," *the Mansion of the Old Patriarchs*, which now stands empty, because Christ descending, released the Captive Fathers.

* Bellarmin Opera, lib. ii, cap. 6. See also Emancipation, a Poem, Notes p. 54.

tinkling of silver bells; that He consecrated Oil, Wax, Wool, Bells, Chalices, Churches and Altars, merely with his *sacred* breath; that he sold Jubilees, Graces, Immunities, Expectancies, Preventions, First-fruits, Palls, the right of using Palls, Bulls, * Indulgencies, and Pardons; that He called himself the Head of the Church! the High Priest!! the Bishop of Bishops!!! and the only *Most Holy One!!!!* that he arrogantly usurped a power and authority over foreign Churches, and exempted himself from all Civil Obedience; that He waged wars, and stirred up Christian Princes to mutual hostilities; that he was carried in procession on the shoulders of noblemen in a state-chair of gold, crowned with a tasseled mitre, with all the haughtiness of a Persian Monarch; his Regalia, the Royal Sceptre, the Golden Diadem, and Glittering

* “*Indulgentia proprie est absolutio judiciaria, annexam habens solutionem ex Thesauris.*” An *Indulgence* is properly ■ *judicial absolution*, having thereunto annexed a *payment and satisfaction* made out of the Treasure of the Church.

Bellarmino de Indulgent. lib. i. cap. 5.

For a copy of an Indulgence see Dugdale’s History of St. Paul’s, fol. 45, and “a New Defence of the Roman Catholics,” in which the *price* of each particular *Indulgence*, as disposed of at Rome, under the direction of their *Holinesses*, is noted.

Gems!! Surely they dare not say that the Apostle Peter himself was ever the author of such Poms and Vanities as these; and by an uninterrupted tradition enjoined them upon the long line of his successors!! Yet these are the Doctrines and Practices now held by the Popes of Rome; and to such an extent, that they have become the sum and substance of all their Religion!!!

There is not on the other hand the least fear of their being hardy enough to affirm that the Roman Pontiff, in these days, shews the least conformity in his own person with that which we know constituted the glory of the life and character of the Apostle St. Peter: they dare not assert, that like his glorious Predecessor, he traverses every Region of the earth to plant the banner of the Cross triumphant, and spread the knowledge of Christ Jesus, “and him crucified;” that like him he teaches the Gospel not only in public, but in private also, from house to house, being “instant in season, and out of season,” without any reference to his own ease and comfort; that he “does the work of an Evangelist, and makes full proof of the Ministry of Christ;”

that he is in his Spiritual Character the true “Watchman of the house of Israel;” and receives the divine oracles and commands from God, and delivers them with faithfulness, even as he himself has received them, unto the people; that in the purity of an irreproachable life he is “the salt of the earth, the light of the world,” and feedeth not himself, but “the flock, over which the Holy Ghost hath made him overseer;” that he hath renounced the things of this world, and is dead to the Intrigues and Schemes of Worldly Policy and Ambition; that he maketh not himself “Lord over God’s heritage, seeking not to be ministered unto, but to minister;” like the great “Shepherd and Bishop of souls” himself; that he, like St. Peter,* looks upon all other Bishops only as his Brethren and his Equals, not as his Inferiors and Vassals; and professes true Allegiance to Princes, as to those sent by God himself; and thus “renders unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s”, following the example of the ancient Bishops of Rome, all of whom, without exception, called the Emperor their Lord!

* St. Peter in 1 Epist. v. 1. stiles himself ὁ συμπρεσβύτερος καὶ μέγας; that is, your Fellow Presbyter, or Co-priest.

Now unless on the one hand it can be affirmed that the Roman Pontiffs are accustomed to hold these doctrines and practices; or on the other, that the Apostle Peter himself held those which we have before enumerated; there is no such great reason why they should glory in the name of Peter: it is nugatory to plead the argument of Succession to his office! But much less reason have they for their loud complaints against our secession, and their ineffectual endeavours to bring us back to their Faith and Communion.

We would remind them that our opinion on this head coincides with that of the Lacedæmonian Ambassador, Cobilon, as to the propriety of entering into that treaty for which he had been publicly sent to the Persian Monarch, when he found the chief Ministers and Courtiers of Persia engaged at Dice. He instantly returned home, without even an attempt to accomplish the object of his mission, and pleaded for his justification that he judged it disgraceful to his country to enter into any treaty with Gamesters. In like manner, if we should again return to the Pope, and to the Errors of his Church, and should thus become united, not merely with gamesters, but with men far more abandoned; it would indeed

be not only derogatory to our character, but dangerous to our Salvation in kindling God's Wrath against us, and smothering, and even quenching the Light of Conscience in us.

For, from whom is it that we have withdrawn ourselves, but from him who with the utmost arrogancy hath been accustomed to boast his own absolute infallibility, and disclaimed the right of any earthly power to interfere in his proceedings, or condemn his decisions, though they were not merely Kings or Emperors, but the whole Clergy and Laity united; even if he were to carry a thousand Souls with him to Perdition!!! From him who hath assumed to himself an usurped authority not only over men, but even over the Angels of God; pretending to make them go and return, conduct Souls to Purgatory, and conduct them back again at his own mere arbitrary pleasure! From him whom Gregory with the greatest clearness pointed out as the *Precursor*, and *Introducer* of *Antichrist*, and an Apostate from the Catholic Faith; from whom even those * Deserters amongst ourselves,

* The Bishop in this passage appears to allude to those English

who act in opposition to the Gospel, and to that Truth which they inwardly acknowledge, have all to a man long ago willingly and without solicitation withdrawn; and would even now gladly do the same, were they not restrained by the shame and loss of character which the exposure of such a total inconstancy and profligacy of principle must inevitably bring upon them: in short, we have withdrawn ourselves from him to whom we owed no allegiance whatever, and who has no other claims to it, than such as depend upon the pretended rights of the See of Rome, and the false and absurd principles of his feigned succession to St. Peter.

Independent of this, we of all nations had the greatest reason and justice on our side in thus casting off the Papal Yoke:—a Yoke which had been for ages galling and most oppressive to the Kings of England: even to those who were most

Bishops who had been Protestants in the Reign of King Edward VI. and turning Papists again in the Reign of Queen Mary, were ashamed now to change a third time in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, and therefore not only adhered with the utmost obstinacy to Popery, but were more clamorous against the Reformation than any other body of men.

Heylin's Ecclesia Restaurata. Anno Primo Elizabetha.

bigoted in their attachment to the authority of the Bishops of Rome. It was those Bishops who took the crown from off the Head of our Second Henry, and compelled him to wait upon their Legate like a Captive and a Slave, in an ordinary dress without any of the Insignia of Royalty, merely to expose him to contempt and disgrace in the eyes of his own subjects: It was those Bishops who excited the Monks and the Dignitaries of the Church, with no inconsiderable portion even of the Nobility, to rebel and bear arms against * King John, having first absolved the whole English Nation from their Oath of Allegiance to their lawful Sovereign: and not satisfied even with this, they at last proceeded to the consummation of cruelty and treason, and deprived him not of his Kingdom only but his life.†

* Matthew Paris informs us that Pope Innocent III. designated this Monarch as “Vasallum suum,” intimating thereby that the Empire was the Pope's, not the King of England's.

Matthew Paris in Johanne.

For full particulars of the extortions of the Popes, and their abominable insatiable avarice, see Johannes Sarisburiensis, lib. vi. cap. 24. Bishop Boner in præfatione in libell. Stephani Gardineri de vera obedientia. Matthew Paris, Annis 1216, 1240, 1247, 1257; and the Defence of the Apologie, pp. 733-9.

† A Monk named Simon, of Swineshead Abbey near Lincoln,

It was these Bishops who, armed with the Thunders of the Vatican, delivered over to destruction that most noble Prince Henry the Eighth

being much offended with the King for some talk he heard him have at table, contrived and imagined how he might most speedily destroy him: but first of all he advised with his Abbot touching the enterprise, and alleged for himself that saying of Caiaphas: "It is better that one man die than all the people Perish;" and I, said he, am well content to lose my Life and become a Martyr, if I may but destroy this Tyrant.

The Abbot, being as very a Villain as himself, much applauded his zeal and resolution, and gave him *absolution* before hand for this murder; which being done, and the King then lodging upon his March in their Abbey, this murderous *Monk* went secretly into the Garden on the back side, and getting the largest toad he could find, he so pricked it with a penknife that he caused it to Vomit up all the *poison* it contained, which he conveyed into a Cup of *Wine*, and then with a smiling flattering countenance addressed himself to the King, saying: "*May it please your Princely Majesty, here is such a cup of wine, as you never drank a better in all your life time; a wassail fit to make all England glad;*" and thereupon drank a large draught of it himself; which the King seeing and therefore not suspecting any *poison*, freely pledged him."

"The Monk satisfied with his dreadful *exploit* retired and presently died, and thenceforth three monks continually sung *Mass* for his soul, *appointed* and *confirmed* by their *Chapter*. The King quickly finding a strange alteration in his body, and suspecting some Treachery, asked for this *Father Simon*; and being told he was dead, replied "then Lord have mercy upon me." He was carried to Newark upon Trent, and in three days died."

of England, and raised up on different occasions the Emperor, or the King of France against him, surrendering to the utmost of their power the fair possessions of our Native Country to plunder and hostile invasion;* exhibiting at the same time their total ignorance of human nature, in

“ The Monks pretend he died of a fever, occasioned by *grief and eating peaches*; but the following *Epitaph* they bestowed upon him will shew they were his deadly Enemies:”

“ Anglia sicut adhuc sordet fæto Johannis,”

“ Sordida fædatur fœdante Johanne Gehenna.”

In English.

“ England does still smell strong of stinking John,”

“ And Hell much worse, whither he’s stinking gone.”

Caxton.

* That the Papists have ever since the Reformation of Religion in Europe, been most invincibly industrious in these Kingdoms, to bring the Church of England to ruine and a total subversion, there cannot remain the least doubt or scruple. For, besides apparent matter of undeniable Fact, during the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James, and King Charles the First, and our present gracious Sovereign, (whom God long preserve) there are these reasons which have, and do animate them in the repeated prosecution of that desperate Enterprize, namely, an Enthusiastick belief, encouraged by the Jesuits and their tools, of the fifth Monarchy of the Church of Rome, and the consideration that the Church of England is the only Bulwark of the Protestant Religion, and their most potent Enemy.

Foxes and Firebrands, 12mo. pp. 1, 2. 2d Edition, Lond. 1682.

supposing it possible that so gallant a Prince could be terrified by mere outward shew and noise, or that so high-spirited a people would be but ONE mouthful for their voracious appetite!!! And, as if even all this were not enough, they endeavoured to make the whole of England a mere tributary Province; and under these iniquitous pretences drew from us a yearly and considerable revenue. So dearly have we ever paid for any alliance with the city of Rome!! And, to shew the utter fallacy of claims like these, we may observe, that if they extorted the acknowledgment of such rights by imposture and artifice, there can be no reason why they may not be again stripped of them on good and sufficient grounds and just legislative enactments: or if on the other hand our Kings in the darkness of former ages were induced, from any persuasion of the pretended sacredness of these men's character, thus munificently to give them such rights of their own free will; *

* The State of Romaine Popedome spronge first of monie, and encreased by monie, and standeth nowe, neither by Truthe of Doctrine, nor by severitie of Discipline, nor by Praier, nor by Holinesse, nor by ought els, but onely by monie. Set

undoubtedly, when the fallacy of these pretensions were discovered, the same grants might

monie apart, and the Pope is equal with other Bishoppes.”* Codrus † Urceus writes; “ Pontifex Maximus, si non virtute, tamen Pecunia. The Pope is the greatest Bishop, if not in Virtue at least in Wealth. Baptista Mantuanus when speaking of the State of Rome, says,

——— “ Venalia Nobis”

Templa, Sacerdotes, Altaria, Sacra, Coronæ,
Ignis, Thura, Preces, Cælum est Venale, Deusque !!

Budæus ‡ declares “ Sanctiones Pontificæ non moribus regendis usui sunt; sed propemodum dixerim Argentariæ faciendæ auctoritatem videntur accomodare.” The Canons of the Pope no longer furnish a Rule of Life, but (I might observe) serve merely as a device for the accumulation of wealth.

Bernard § a Monk of Cluny says,

Roma dat omnibus omnia dantibus; omnia Romæ
Cum Pretio.

We find a similar opinion also in the old Monkish Proverb—

Curia Romana non captat ovem sine lana:
Dantes exaudit non dantibus ostia claudit.

In English.

The Court of Rome without the wool refuse to take the sheep,
The Rich they hear, but 'gainst the Poor the doors they closed
keep.

In a word Thomas à Becket, || one of their most venerated Saints, thus describes the Mystical Babylon, in a letter to the Archbishop of Mentz: “ Mater Roma facta est Meretrix, et Prostituta est pro Mercede.”

* The Defence of the Apologie, p. 734-8. † Codrus Urceus, Sermo. 1.

‡ Budæus in Pandectis. § Bernardus Cluniacensis in Satyra.

|| In Epistola ad Archiepiscopum Moguntinum.

justly be revoked by succeeding Monarchs, who must all possess as ample powers as their predecessors: and we must remember also, that the very nature of a gift is completely destroyed by the want of freedom of choice and will in the donor; and that, that can never be said to be done freely which is extorted by misrepresentations and false pretences.

THE
RECAPITULATION
OF
The Apology.

THUS I have endeavoured to shew you, my Christian Reader, that we ought not to be surprized at finding the Christian Religion subject to persecution and contempt in these days ; since our Saviour himself, the Apostles, and the Primitive Church experienced similar treatment. Still however, lest any one should be so far imposed upon by the outcries and attacks of our adversaries as to be induced to leave our Communion, we have here given a full Exposition of our Religious Tenets, and stated at large our opinions concerning God the Father, his only Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Church, the Sacraments, the Ministerial Office, the Holy Scriptures, the Rites and Ceremonies of our Religion, and in a word, the

whole foundation of our Belief in Christ. We have also declared that we hold in utter detestation all those old Heresies which the Holy Scriptures and Councils of old have condemned; considering them as hostile to the Salvation of our Souls: and we have given our unqualified consent to all the Fundamental Doctrines of true Religion. We have exerted ourselves to the utmost to re-establish the Ancient Discipline of the Church, which our opponents have wholly disregarded; and have on no occasion failed to punish and restrain every species of Profligacy and Immorality, by putting in force the most severe enactments of our Predecessors. We have, without any diminution or change, maintained the State of Empires in the same condition and honour that we received them; and have as far as possible secured to our Monarchs their pristine Majesty and Prerogative. We confess that we have imitated the Examples of Lot and Abraham, who departed from Sodom and Chaldæa: not influenced by a Spirit of Contention, but by the warning voice of God Himself; and have forsaken that Church which the Papists have made “a Den of Thieves;” in which we could discover nothing perfect, nothing like the Church of Christ;

and in which they themselves are compelled to allow the existence of many errors. We have sought to establish our Liturgy on the authority of that Sacred Volume which cannot mislead us; and have returned to the Primitive Church of the Ancient Fathers and Apostles: that is, to the very source and foundation, and as it were the pure fountain from which the Doctrines of Christianity flowed.

We have not, it is true, waited the Sanction and Approbation of the Council of Trent in this matter: for there we behold every thing conducted without regard to propriety or regularity; there all were sworn to maintain the authority of one man; there the Ambassadors of our Princes were treated with contempt; there none of our Divines were allowed to speak; there party spirit, and selfish ambition alone prevailed. We have restored our Church* in a Provincial Synod, according to the practice of our Predecessors,

* We quickly saw, says Bishop Burnet on a similar occasion, that Popery was a restless thing, and was the standing Enemy of our Church; so soon as that shewed itself, then our Divines returned to those Controversies, in which no man bare a greater share, and succeeded in it with more honour, than Bishop Stillingfleet, both in his vindication of Archbishop Laud,

and the Holy Fathers. We have shaken off the Yoke, and abjured the Tyrannical Authority of the Roman Pontiff, who had no claim upon our allegiance, nor the slightest Resemblance in any respect to Christ, to St. Peter, to the Apostles, or even to a Bishop. In a word, we have agreed amongst ourselves upon all the points and Doctrines of the Christian Profession of Faith; and * with one Spirit, and one Mouth worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

and in the long continued dispute concerning the *Idolatry* of the *Church of Rome*.

When the dangers of Popery came nearer us, and became sensible to all persons, then a great number of our Divines engaged in these Controversies. They writ short and plain, and yet brought together, in a great variety of small Tracts, the substance of all that was contained in the large Volumes writ both by our Divines, and by Foreigners. There was in them a solidity of argument, mixed with an agreeableness in the way of writing, that both pleased and edified the nation; and did very much confound and at last silence, the few and weak writers that were of the Romish side.

Preface to the Exposition of the xxxix Articles, p. 9. Ed. Lond. 1819. 18°.

* It is to be remembered that this Apology was written before the Puritan Schism in the Church of England broke out; for Fuller informs us that they first began to appear A. D. 1563, which was the year after this Apology was written, but an open Rupture did not take place till 1570.

Fuller's Church History.

Since then the causes and reasons of our withdrawing ourselves from Popery, and introducing the Reformation, have been thus clearly explained; no one surely ought to wonder that we have chosen to obey the Precepts of Christ, rather than those of man. St. Paul admonished us not to suffer ourselves *to * be carried about with every wind of Doctrine; and † to mark them which cause divisions and dissensions, contrary to the Doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.*

The powerful influence which the Papists had acquired by their crafty impostures has long since begun to decay and vanish before the appearance and Light of the Gospel; even as the Bird of Night retires at the approach of the rising Sun: and although the Fabric of their Idolatry has been exalted even up to heaven; yet in a moment of time, without any visible cause, it hasteneth to decay and becometh as nought.

* Ephesians iv. 14.

† Romans xvi. 17, 18.

These things ought not to be considered the mere effects of Chance. It has been God's will and pleasure that the Gospel of Jesus Christ should at this time be preached to all the world, notwithstanding the intrigues and opposition of the great body of mankind: and therefore, instructed by the Divine Will, we have readily applied ourselves to the Study of our Saviour's Doctrine. In taking this step we have not been influenced by Ambition, or the expectation of Pleasure, Wealth, or Ease. All these things our adversaries abundantly enjoy; and whilst we espoused their interest, we participated also in their pleasures, and had many more worldly enjoyments than we now have: nevertheless we are not the Enemies of Unanimity and Concord; but dare not consent to be at war with our God, for the sake of establishing peace with man.

“The Name of Peace,” saith St. Hilary, “is sweet; but Peace” he adds “is one thing, Bondage another.” Thus if we were to comply with their wishes, and command Christ to be silent, the Truth of the Gospel to be betrayed, the most flagrant errors to be countenanced, the minds of Christians to be misled, and suffer an open

Conspiracy against God; in that case we should not promote the cause of Peace, but yield ourselves to the most abject state of Slavery. "There is," says Nazianzen, "a Peace which is unprofitable," and a Discord which is advantageous; for we must desire Peace conditionally, as far as it lieth in us, and is lawful before God: without these limitations, Christ himself ** did not bring Peace into the world, but a Sword.*

If therefore the Pope wishes us to be reconciled with him; let him first be reconciled with God: for hence, according to St. Cyprian, all Schisms arise, because men seek not the head, and have no recourse to the Sacred Fountain of the Scriptures; and keep not the commandments of their Heavenly Master: "for this," he exclaims, "is not Peace, but War; neither is he connected with the Church, who is severed from the Gospel." As for our opponents they make a Merchandize of the name of Peace; for the Peace which they so earnestly desire, is merely the Peace of † *slow bellies*. All our differences indeed might be easily arranged, did not sensuality, ambition, and glut-

* Matthew x. 34.

† Titus i. 12.

tony interpose. Hence proceed their tears and complaints; their Souls are in their Dishes; and all their clamours proceed from an anxiety to retain by villainy, what they in the first instance acquired by Knavery and Corruption.

At this time the granters of Indulgences, the Dataries, the Collectors, the Pimps of the Court of Rome, and others, who think that *Godliness is great gain,* and serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies*, make the heaviest complaints against us: for in former times men of this description made no small gains by these practices; but now they consider that whatever Christ gains is their immediate loss. Even the Pope himself joins in their Lamentations, declaring that Charity is waxed cold. And Why? because forsooth his income has of late years visibly decreased. On this account he heaps disgrace and odium upon us, loads us with every species of reproach, and condemns us for Heretics; in order that those who do not understand the nature of our cause, may deem us the most abandoned and profligate of men.

* 1 Timothy vi. 5.

We however in the meantime are not ashamed of these aspersions, nor in truth ought we to be ashamed of the Profession of the Gospel; for we esteem the Glory of God more than the good opinion of Men; we know that we teach nothing but the Truth, and we dare not offer violence to our own consciences, or give Testimony against God: for if we deny any part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ before men, he will in like manner deny us before his Father who is in Heaven. And if there are any who are offended in Christ, and cannot endure his Doctrine, they are blind and leaders of the blind. Truth must nevertheless be preached and preferred above all things, and we must patiently await the Judgment of God.

Our adversaries in the meanwhile, would do well to reflect seriously upon their own Salvation; and cease to hate and persecute the Gospel of the Son of God: lest hereafter they find him the Vindicator and Avenger of his own cause. God will not suffer himself to be treated with Contempt and Scorn. The Eyes of the world have for some time been opened to a sense of their own condition. The more this Light of the Gospel is repressed and kept under, so much the more

brilliantly will it burst forth and shine abroad. Popish Infidelity and Unbelief cannot obstruct the Propagation of the Faith of Christ; and if they will still harden their hearts and refuse to acknowledge the Gospel of Christ, ** the Publicans and the Harlots shall go into the Kingdom of God before them.*

GOD, AND THE FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST
OPEN ALL THEIR EYES, THAT THEY MAY SEE
THAT BLESSED HOPE TO WHICH THEY ARE CALLED;
THAT WE MAY ALL WITH ONE ACCORD GLORIFY
THE ONE TRUE GOD, AND JESUS CHRIST
WHOM HE HATH SENT DOWN TO US
FROM HEAVEN. TO WHOM, WITH
THE FATHER, AND THE HOLY
SPIRIT, BE ASCRIBED ALL
HONOUR AND GLORY,
NOW AND FOR EVER,

Amen.

* Matt. xxi. 31.

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